


STUDIES IN
ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY



H. P. Stokes

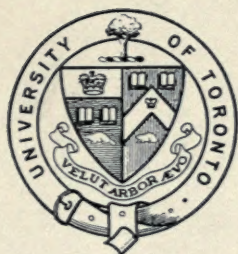


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**STUDIES IN
ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY**

NOTE

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Omnibus ad quos presens scriptura pervenit Jacobus filius magistri galfridi
 omni dni Galfridi de Oxon illustris dni. B. Rex Angl quidam can
 cellus et hac carta nostra confirmasset scholaribus et fratribus domus scholar
 ium cui sumus ad pecuniam sustentatione scholarium in scholis decem
 annos que quidam fuerunt Johis Halegod in terra prioris sac
 ram que fuit Regi Ricardi usque oriente habendas et tenendas
 eas spectantibus in perpetuum. Reddendo inde capitulis dnis feodi
 Et nos et heredes nostri garantizabimus acquiescimus et defendemus
 et suis contra omnes homines tam christianos quam iudeos per predictam
 demissimus nos in plena curia nulle Oxon ad opus scholarium et fr
 nos ullo tempore competere poterit dictas domos habendi vel petendi
 nostri contra predictam donationem nostram dictas scholaribus et fratribus fe
 mentum sustinuerint et nos eis pecuniam supradictam duplicatam
 iussimus dictas domos recinendi seu petendi si opus fuerit. Et p
 us Henricus et Thomas frater eius dictas domos tenere possint et in heredi
 tos et per centum solidis quos Custodi scholarium et fratrum predicatorum
 nomine locagii domorum predictarum. Et ad pecuniam rei huiusmodi men
 tis testibus dnis Adam ffeceplace tunc maiore Oxon Johes de O
 Galfrido amfabbio. Radus amfabbio. Alexandro knyghte Jacobo
 sero le emuise. galfridi parvaz. Jacobo de Exonia. Lmbern
 ma post festum sancti Michaelis apostolici anno regni Regis Henrici filii

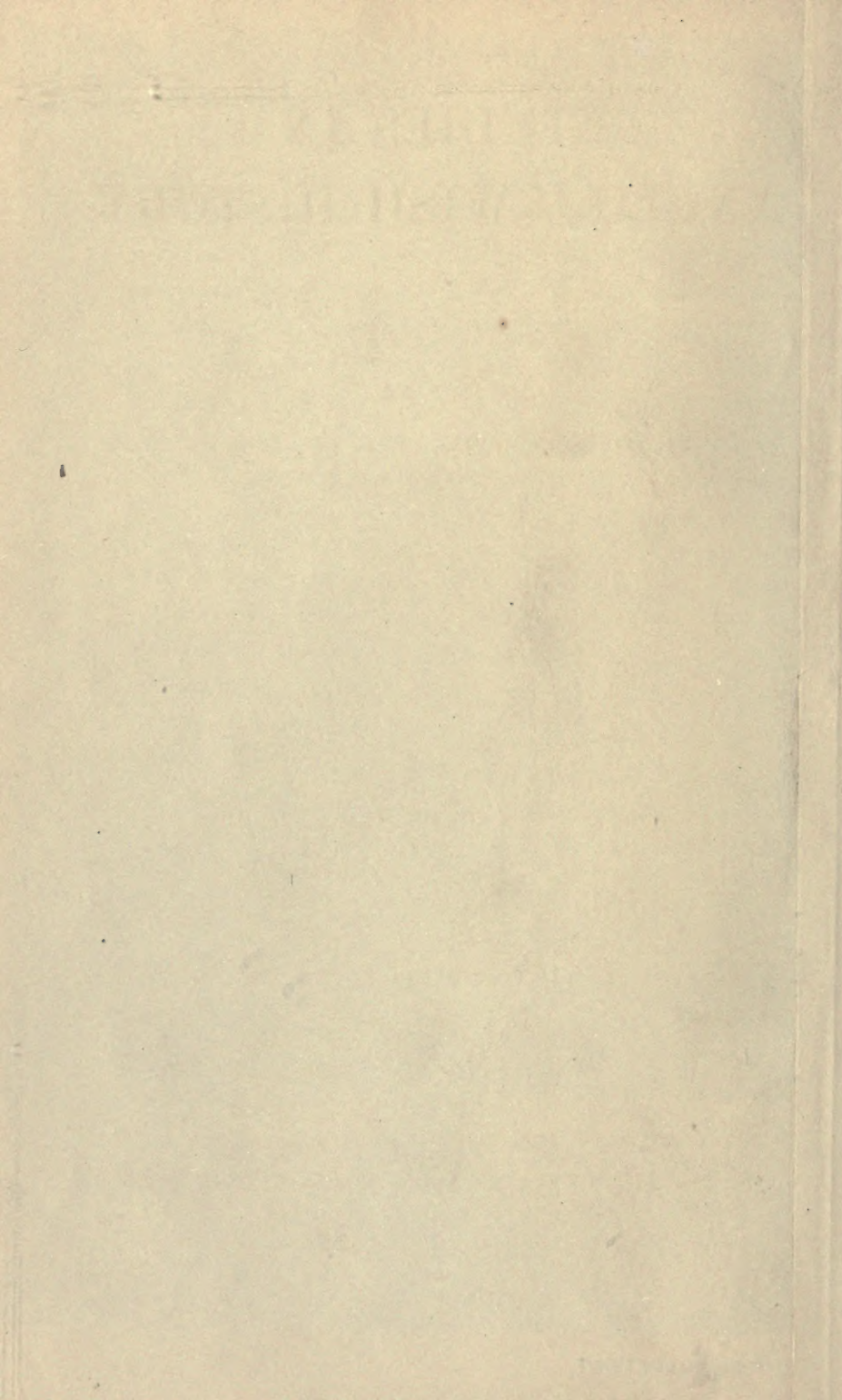
וְכָל אֵלֶּיךָ יוֹדֵעִי שֶׁיְהִי עֲלֵיךְ וְקִיס וְכָל שְׂטָנֵי וְיֹשֵׁרֵי דְרֹכֶיךָ אֵימִירִים לְרִי וְקִיס וְכָל אֵלֶּיךָ



London et Henricus rex et filius. Nos ad instantiam dilecti
 regis et p[ro]p[ri]etatis maris quas nobis dedit p[ro]p[ri]etatis dedit con
 de[m]on[st]r[ati]o[n]em quam idem d[omi]n[us] Walter[us] fundavit apud Oxoniam in co
 domos suas cum p[ro]p[ri]etatis in po[st]ea s[an]c[t]i Joh[annis] Baptiste Oxon[ie] insta
 tes vide que quidam sunt lib[er]i heredit[ari]i ueris occidit et ter
 idem scolarib[us] et fratrib[us] d[omi]n[us] domus cum omnib[us] ad domos p[re]dic
 aior denarios p[er] annum et p[er] omni d[omi]n[us] consuetudine et domania.
 p[re]dictas scolarib[us] et fratrib[us] domos p[re]dictas cum omnib[us] p[ro]p[ri]etatis
 cum quatuor denariis p[er] annum et imp[er]ium. Et sciendum q[uo]d
 p[re]dictos de p[re]dictis domib[us] et omni potestate et iure quod
 erit eis cuiq[ue]m dandi ut concedendi. Ita q[uo]d si nos ut heredes
 aliquo tempe uenire p[ro]p[ri]etatis p[er] quod ip[s]i dampnum ut imp[er]i
 ea ad dampnum p[re]dictas refundent. et m[ag]ister saluum erit et
 scolaris et fr[atr]es ad m[ag]ist[er] instantia concesserunt q[uo]d d[omi]n[us] Lincolni
 et usq[ue] a festo s[an]c[t]i Michaelis p[ro]ximo futuro in tres annos comple
 annus in anna p[re]dicta p[er] p[re]dictas d[omi]n[us] Lincolni et Thoma
 et securitatem plena scripto sigilla n[ost]ra fecimus apponi.
 Thulle. p[ro]p[ri]etatis de Hou. Waltero aurifabro. Adam sub[er] m[ag]ist[er].
 Esperer. Willo le Esperer. Hugone de Wingo p[ro]p[ri]etatis. et alii.
 de Wykefelade iudeis. et aliis. Dat[um] in anna Oxon[ie] die lune p[ro]
 p[ri]etatis Johannis. Quinquagesimo p[ro]ximo.

יתן יעזב נ דכ משה לושרט וורה כל שכתב לושרט נאמן וטין נא וחקק וקנה חזית
 כתבת וחתמת יעזבנו ובעבור יושרת חנה יעזבן קני משה לושרט





STUDIES IN ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY

BY THE REV.

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PREFATORY NOTE

THE writer desires to express his obligations to Mr. Israel Abrahams, Reader in Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge, who has written the last chapter and has kindly read through the whole work, making many helpful suggestions.

It will be seen that much use has been made of Mr. Rigg's valuable volumes on *The Exchequer of the Jews*. Miss M. M. C. Calthrop was good enough to copy several of the Appendices from documents in the Record Office.

Thanks are also due to the authorities of Merton College, Oxford, the Pitt Press, Cambridge, the British Museum, the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, and Mr. Frank Haes, for permission to reproduce documents and illustrations. Other sources are acknowledged in the body of the work.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFATORY NOTE	v
HEADINGS OF PARTS AND CHAPTERS	vii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	ix
NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS	xi

PART I

THE JEWS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE EXPULSION	1
Chap. I. A Starting Point	3
" II. Another Family	12
" III. <i>Episcopus</i>	18
" IV. The Arch-Presbyter	23
" V. Other Jewish Officials	44
" VI. The Masters of the Law	48
" VII. Rabbis	55
" VIII. Other Jewish Offices	59
" IX. Jewish Surnames	63
" X. Jewish Double Names	68

PART II

ON TALLIES	73
Chap. I. On Tallies in General	75
" II. Four Jewish Tallies	80
" III. A Jewish "Parliament"	83

PART III

THE COURSE OF ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY	93
Chap. I. The Jews and the State	95
" II. Chief Events from 1070 to 1290	100
" III. The Expulsion	102

PART IV

	PAGE
THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE TILL 1275	103
Chap. I. The Town of Cambridge	105
„ II. The Jewry in Cambridge	113
„ III. The Cambridge Synagogue	120
„ IV. The Jews from William I. to John	122
„ V. The Jews under Henry III.	139
„ VI. The Jews under Edward I.	181
„ VII. Summary	200

PART V

THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE FROM THE EXPULSION TO THE RETURN	205
Chap. I. To the End of the 16th Century	207
„ II. The 17th Century to the Return	212

PART VI

THE JEWS OF CAMBRIDGE FROM THE RETURN	217
Chap. I. The Return	219
„ II. The 18th Century	224
„ III. The Beginning of the 19th Century	229
„ IV. The Synagogues	233
„ V. Before and after the Abolition of Tests (by Mr. I. ABRAHAMS)	236
APPENDICES	241
Appendix I. The Official Appointments of the Arch-Prebysters	243
„ II. Cambridge Jews (1194)	248
„ III. Cambridge Tallage (1219)	250
„ IV. Cambridge <i>Archa</i> (8 to 24 Henry III.)	252
„ V. Cambridge <i>Archa</i> (1272)	276
„ VI. Cambridge <i>Archa</i> (1290)	280
„ VII. The Official Arms of the Professor of Hebrew	281

INDICES—

Index I. General	283
„ II. Mediæval Jews	290
„ III. Hebrew Words	302

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. DEED, WITH SEAL, FROM MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD . | <i>Frontispiece</i> |
| 2. SEALS FROM WESTMINSTER | <i>To face page 64</i> |
| 3. FOUR TALLIES | <i>Between pages 80-81</i> |
| 4. A CAMBRIDGE QUIT-CLAIM | <i>To face page 160</i> |
| 5. MAP | <i>End of volume</i> |

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS

1. DEED, WITH SEAL, FROM MERTON COLLEGE

The whole Latin document appears with fair accuracy in Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 180–3. The Hebrew quittance is also printed by Tovey; and subsequently by Jost, *Geschichte der Israeliten*, vii. p. 407; Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 369; and Neubauer, *Collectanea* (Oxford Historical Society), ii. p. 303. In no case has the Hebrew been correctly copied: the original is therefore reproduced in the frontispiece, so that the reader can check the present transcription.

The substance of the deed (see p. 8) is a grant (51 Henry III., 1266–7, Feb. 28) from Jacob, son of Master Moses, Jew of London, and his wife Henna (Hannah), of certain houses in Oxford to Walter de Merton. The Hebrew subscription runs:

אני יעקב בן רב משה דלונדרש מודה כל שכתוב למעלה בלשון לטין
בלי טחק והנהה הודיתי בעבורי ובעבור יורשי שיהיה שריר וקים גם בעבור
אשתי הודיתי שיהיה שריר וקים ומה שהודיתי כתבתי וחתמתי בעבורי
ובעבור אשתי חנה יעקב בן רב משה דלונדרש

The seal is twice repeated; it bears a star and an emblematic animal and the words: s^r IACOBI D'LVNDRES.

The facsimile here reproduced is slightly reduced from the original size.

2. SEALS FROM WESTMINSTER

The two seals on the upper part of this plate are described in W. de G. Birch's *Catalogue of Seals in Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. vi. p. 705, Nos. 23,202 and 23,203. Both belong to the thirteenth century. The inscriptions are thus given by the authority cited:

(a) שמשון בר שמשון

(b) שלמה בר יצחק אלמעמס אללה ולן

There is much discussion of the latter name in the *Proc. Soc. Antiq. of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 39 and 150. The former seal was found in Westminster Abbey in 1850.

The seals on the lower part of the plate are reproduced from a

photograph by Mr. Frank Haes (illustrated edition of the Catalogue of the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition). The Hebrew reads :

אנחנו החתומים מטה מודים שכל מה שכתוב למעלה בלשין למין מכתיבת
ראוק בידא הנלה שהוא אמת אמת בונפי בן ברטון יוסי בן בונפי.

The seal at the left is inscribed S' בונפי בן ברטון (with the two tables of stone), the other is inscribed s' GOSE FIL BONEFAY.

3. FOUR TALLIES

These are fully discussed on page 80. These photographs (made by Mr. Frank Haes) are of the exact size of the original tallies.

4. A CAMBRIDGE QUIT-CLAIM

Fully described on page 160.

5. MAP OF CAMBRIDGE

The ground-plan of the map is derived by permission from the late J. W. Clark's *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*. To this the author of this volume has added the old and new Jewries of the thirteenth century, which are indicated by shaded lines. For description of these sites see pp. 114-116.

PART I

THE JEWS IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE
EXPULSION (1290)

CHAPTER I

A STARTING POINT

ANY one who deals with the subject of the Jews in England before the Expulsion must often feel admiration for the work done by scholars before the days of calendars and other guides to the materials contained in the Record Office. Without these aids, Prynne in the middle of the seventeenth century, and M. D. Davis and C. Gross in the nineteenth, succeeded in making contributions of permanent value to the subject. Especially must the present-day student of Anglo-Jewish records express his indebtedness to Mr. Joseph Jacobs. And the present writer desires to emphasise his admiration for that author's works, because his first task will be to criticise some of the conclusions of the chronicler of *The Jews of Angevin England*.

Readers of Mr. Jacobs's paper¹ on "The London Jewry of 1290" will remember the elaborate references to the so-called "Hagin Family." We venture to reproduce the genealogical table from that treatise, because a consideration thereof will bring forward many of the points with which we are about to deal.

Mr. Jacobs called this the "Hagin Family" chiefly because he believed that "Huggin Lane," in the city of London, was named after one of the family; but a deed printed by Mr. J. M. Rigg, in his *Select Pleas of the Jewish Exchequer* (p. 119) disposes of this conjectured derivation.

Again, as to Master Moses, the central figure in the table, Mr. Jacobs himself, in the last paragraph of his Appendix to his *Jews of Angevin England*, identifies R. Moses ben Yomtob with a Mag. Mosse of the twelfth

¹ *Papers, Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, 1887*, p. 45.

THE HAGIN FAMILY

ISAAC (fl. c. 1145).

JOMTOB OF JOIGNY

(Martyred 17th March, 1190, at York Castle).

ISAAC.

MAGISTER MOSSEUS = Gente
(? = Moses b. Jomtob of Evreux).

Mag. Elyas, fil. Mag. Mossei
Elyas le Evesk, Episcopus,
Pontifex Judæorum = Sapphira.

Benedict of Lincoln
(Berachyah of
Nicole).

Hagin le Evesk,
fil. Mag. Mossei
= Antera.

Jacobus le Evesk
= Henna (? f. Elyas).

Cresse.

Mosse.

Meir of
Norwich (?)
(poet).

Henna
= Jacobus
le Evesk.

Hagin, fil.
Delecret
le Evesk.

Muriel.

Aaron f.
Vives.

Benedict f.
Jacobi
Clerici.
Flora.

Leo.

Bateman.

Benedict.

century. Now, as our central figure did not die till 1268, he cannot have been the well-known R. Moses ben Yomtob, and so the former half¹ of our table may be dispensed with.

Our Master Moses was doubtless a man of considerable importance in the Jewish community of London, and was probably the legal authority whose decision is referred to in the *Close Rolls*² of 1242. It was about that period that his name first occurs in the English records. No member of the family was mentioned in connection with the so-called Jewish Parliament at Worcester in 1244, but there is an official allusion to Master Moses shortly after this date, and from this time on there are numerous references to Master Moses and to his sons in documents of different kinds. The signification of the prefix "Master" will be discussed later on.

Having remarked that the name of the wife of this prominent Jew was Antera,³ and not Gente (as asserted in the table), we may proceed to deal with his sons, several of whom held positions of importance among their co-religionists.

Master Elias is placed first in Mr. Jacobs's table, and that writer speaks of him as "undoubtedly the most important Jew in the thirteenth century." He was indeed a man of position, but the pre-eminence accorded to him in the sentence quoted is due to the mistake which had identified him with Elias le Eveske, the Arch-Presbyter of the Jews of England. It will be noticed, for instance, that in the genealogy given above he is styled "Mag. Elyas, fil. Mag. Mossei, Elyas le Evesk, Episcopus, Pontifex Judæorum." It will be contended in this essay that the word "Episcopus," whatever its origin, had now become a family name, and hence that the confusion should be obvious; but it will perhaps be well to prove, by historical evidence, that two

¹ Indeed Mr. Jacobs had himself modified the former half of the table in his article in the *Revue des Études juives*, vol. xviii.

² Mr. M. D. Davis, *Jewish Quart. Rev.*, vol. v. pp. 158, &c.; Jacobs, *Ang. Engl.*, p. 425.

³ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, p. 203; *Select Pleas*, p. 42.

individuals are mixed up in the above statement. It is a well-known fact that Elias le Eveske was deposed from the position of Arch-Presbyter of the Jews in the year 1257, and that he shortly afterwards became a convert to Christianity. Now in the Charter Rolls (p. 16), under date January 8, 1259, we have the following record:—

“Gift, for a fine made with the King, by the advice of the lords of the council, to *Master Elias, son of Master Moses, a Jew of London*, of all the lands which *Elias le Eveske, formerly a Jew of London*, held in the city of London and in the town of Northampton, on the day on which he was converted from Jewish pravity to the Christian faith, by which conversion his lands escheated to the King,” &c.

Here Master Elias, the son of Master Moses, is brought into contact with, and distinguished from, the well-known Elias le Eveske of London, and when once the distinction is recognised it will be found to be confirmed again and again in the frequent references to these representative Jews, Elias *Episcopus* and *Magister* Elias.

Elias le Eveske will be dealt with later on, in the chapter on the officials who held the post of Arch-Presbyter; we may now proceed with the sons of Master Moses.

The first allusion to Master Elias, the son of Master Moses, which the present writer has come across, occurs in *The Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*,¹ under date 1253, but here he is simply styled “Elias, son of Master Moses.” He had evidently not yet acquired the official title of “Magister,” and his father was still (and for about a decade later) alive. He and his wife Pucella are parties in a deed which is given at length in Mr. Rigg’s *Select Pleas* (pp. 14 and 15).

In the next reference,² dated 1266, he has attained office and is now and henceforth spoken of as “*Master*

¹ Ed. Rigg, p. 115; *Select Pleas*, p. 14.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 135.

Elias, son of Master Moses." In the various rolls and records there are frequent allusions to him in commercial and financial matters. He has dealings¹ with the King and with the Queen; he and Cresseus, one of his sons, had a special permit² to act as merchants; a Jew, named Abraham Mutun³ of Cambridge, is spoken of "as Jew of Master Elias, son of Master Moses"; and so on. He must have lost his wife Pucella, for, in 1275, Rose⁴ (the widow of Elias, son of Master Aaron) is mentioned as his wife. This lady apparently died shortly afterwards, for we soon find allusions to a third wife, Floria.⁵ Master Elias must have died about 1284, for in that year there are orders as to his chattels, and in the following year the *Patent Rolls* (p. 193) tell us of a grant to Floria, his widow, "in consideration of the fine of £1000 paid by her for the goods of her husband concealed by her, to Eleanor, the King's consort, that for the rest of her life she should not be tallaged, nor the debts due to her husband pardoned."

Cresse, the son mentioned above, died in his father's lifetime; but he left children, one of whom, Leo, had property⁶ in London at the time of the Expulsion. The other sons⁷ of Master Elias—Moses, Benedict, Abraham, Isaac, and Leo—survived their father. They are alluded to in various records, but need not further occupy our attention.

Mr. Jacobs appends to the names Hagin and Jacob, two other sons of Master Moses, the word "*le Evesk*," but again this is a mistake. Hagin was indeed elected to the post of Arch-Presbyter on the deposition of Elias le Eveske, but the title *Episcopus* was never accorded to that office, as Mr. Jacobs supposes. Again, Jacob, the son of Master Moses, was not the same as "Jacob le Eveske," who was the son of Benedict le Eveske. This latter Jacob was a

¹ Pryne, *Short Demurrer*, pp. 135, 144, &c.

² *Ibid.*, p. 151.

³ *Patent Rolls*, 1280, p. 364.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, 1275, p. 161.

⁵ *Ibid.*, sub anno, p. 268.

⁶ Jacobs, *Papers*, A.-J. H. E., p. 22; B. L. Abrahams, *Transactions J. H. S.*, ii. p. 97.

⁷ *Patent Rolls*, 1286, pp. 224, &c., &c.

well-known official, being a Clerk¹ of the Exchequer of the Jews about the year 1246. He will be dealt with in the next chapter, where it will be seen that his children were Benedict (le Eveske) and Flora, who must therefore be deleted from "the Hagin Family." As for Jacob, the son of Master Moses, he became a well-known citizen² of Oxford, where he was for some time one of the Jewish Chirographers of the Chest. His name continually occurs in contemporary documents, one historical instance of which is a deed³ which tells how the celebrated Walter de Merton bought the front situation of his college from Jacob, son of Master Moses (and Henna his wife). The name of the vendor is given as *יֵקֶב בֶּן רַב מֹשֶׁה דִּלְוֹנֶרֶשׁ* in Hebrew and as Jacob filius Magistri Mosey, Judæi London. in Latin. The correspondence of Magister and Rab will be dwelt upon later. His seal⁴ is attached to the deed, which is preserved in the archives of Merton College (No. 188). It is engraved by Tovey, and reproduced in the frontispiece of this work from a new photograph. The ponderous author of the *Anglia Judaica* becomes facetious as he describes this seal. "The graven image," he says, "can't be thought a breach of the Second Commandment; for it is the likeness of nothing that is in heaven, earth, or water!"

We need not dwell upon any of the other allusions to Jacob, the son of Master Moses, except to draw attention to an entry in Rigg's first volume of *The Pleas of the Exchequer of the Jews* (p. 241), under date 1270, where Jacob le Eveske appears as a mainpernor for our Jacob, thus affording a fresh proof (if such were needed) that the identification of the two in the table of "the Hagin Family" must be withdrawn.

Jacob of Oxford had his misfortunes,⁵ and we learn

¹ *Ibid.*, 1246, p. 488; Dr. C. Gross, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 177.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 101.

³ Feb. 28, 1266-7; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 180, &c.

⁴ See Mr. Lucien Wolf's remarks upon family seals in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, ii. p. 154.

⁵ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, ii. pp. 67 and 107.

that in 1273 he "went over seas," taking the official key of his Chest with him. On his return he was committed to the Tower in 1275; while after his death we find, from the *Close Rolls*¹ of 1281, that his widow, Henna, also had her troubles, being likewise imprisoned in the Tower of London.

Turning back to Hagin, the other son of Master Moses, whom Mr. Jacobs styles "le Eveske," we must defer an account of his career to the chapter on the Arch-Presbyters, of whom we have seen he was one. The name *Hagin*, of course, represents the Hebrew חַיִּים (*hayyim*, life), and might well be the equivalent of the French *Vives*; but it is curious, as Mr. Rigg points out,² that Master Moses had two sons, respectively named Hagin and Vives.³ Mr. Jacobs has not noticed this, and treats them as one, but they are distinctly mentioned side by side—"Haginus filius Magistri Mossei . . . et Vives, filius Magistri Mossei"—in a memorandum quoted in Rigg's *Select Pleas* (p. 77). Vives died in or before 1274,⁴ when there is "a sum of his chattels," but Hagin lived on for some years. Antera, the widow of Vives, had leave to sell certain property in London shortly before the Expulsion.

Another son of Master Moses was Cresse, who with his brother, Master Elias, inherited their father's house in Milk Street. On his death, the King (29th Sept. 1270) confirmed⁵ his devise of his share of this property to his son Cok (Isaac), "quod nunquam in vita sua in aliquo deliquit contra Nos, sed tanquam bonus et fidelis Judæus bene et

¹ *Close Rolls*, sub anno, p. 78.

² *Select Pleas*, p. 79, note 1. *Vives*, however, may correspond to Yehiel (see Gross, *Gallia Judaica*, p. 341). *Vivant* corresponds to Hayyim (*op. cit.*), but the two French names do not seem to have been invariably discriminated.

³ The "Aaron, son of Vives," apparently referred to in Mr. Jacobs's table, was a distinguished Jewish official of quite another family. See pp. 184, &c.

⁴ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 79.

⁵ *Patent Rolls*, 54 Henry III., m. 3; Prynn, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 118; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 126, 127; Rigg, *Select Cases*, p. 67.

fideliter, more Judæorum, vixit." Of the deeds referring to Cresse and his family, one other only need be mentioned. This record¹ (dated 1272) is concerned with money owed by Cok to the Queen; it is here alluded to because one of the mainpennors of the debtor is Cresse, son of Genta, a fact which, when we remember its date, disproves the statement in Jacobs's genealogical table that Genta was the wife of Master Moses.

As the Muriel, given in the *stemma* as a daughter of Cresse, is so placed as being the granddaughter of Genta, her name must also be deleted from the table. Jacobs calls Hagin, the son of Cresse, "le Eveske," but this is also a mistake, for though this important Jew held, as we shall afterwards see, the post of Arch-Presbyter, yet that office did not carry with it the title *Episcopus*.

There remains one other son of Master Moses, Benedict² by name, a man of considerable standing in the Jewish world. Like his brother Hagin, he had settled at Lincoln, and, while he was in Latin documents³ called "Magister Benedict filius Magistri Mossei de London," he was in Hebrew deeds³ styled הרב ר' ברכיה בן הרב ר' משה מניקל. We are reminded by the title *Rav*, or Magister, that Benedict (Berachyah) occupied in Lincoln a legal position corresponding to that held in London formerly by his father, Master Moses, and latterly by his brother, Master Elias. He also held the office of Chirographer,⁴ and was concerned in many public and private transactions. Among the many deeds relating to Master Benedict there is a family contract⁵ of singular interest; it records the conditions of the betrothal of his granddaughter Judith—the child of his daughter Belle-assez—to Aaron, son of Benjamin, son of Joce Jechiel. Among the wedding gifts was "a precious volume containing the whole twenty-four

¹ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 67.

² Jacobs, *Transactions J. H. S.*, i. p. 102.

³ *Patent Rolls*, 1256, 40 Hen. III., m. 19.

⁴ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 309.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 298–302.

books of the Hebrew Bible, written on calf-skin, properly provided with punctuation, Targum, Haphtorah, and Masora." If, as is not improbable, the grandfather, Master Benedict of Lincoln, is identical¹ with the Tosaphist "Berachyah of Nicole" (Lincoln), such a sacred literary possession would be very appropriate.

It was during the time that Master Benedict bore office among his brethren that the dreadful storm connected with the miserable affair of "little Hugh of Lincoln" burst upon the Jewish community in the city of Lincoln. Many of their number were arrested and condemned to death, and Master Benedict himself (as we learn from the *Patent Rolls*,² under date 1256) was carried to London and imprisoned in the Tower. He was afterwards, however, pardoned, and his houses and goods were restored.

According to tradition, a more grim fate overtook the above-mentioned daughter with the picturesque name, for Belle-assez is generally identified³ with Belaset of Wallingford, who was hanged for coin-clipping c. 1284.

Vives, or Hagin (חיים רניקול), a son of Master Benedict, figures in many deeds⁴ in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

¹ Jacobs, *Transactions J. H. S.*, i. p. 102.

² *Patent Rolls*, 40 Henry III., m. 19; Rymer, *Fœdera* (1816), i. 346.

³ E. Venables, *Walks through the Streets of Lincoln*, p. 25.

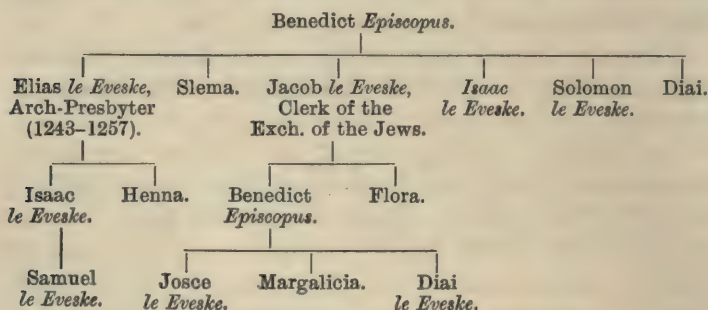
⁴ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, pp. 297, &c.

CHAPTER II

ANOTHER FAMILY

THE first chapter of this essay was critical and destructive. This second chapter aims at something more than criticism and dismantling. It is constructive, advancing a theory, and giving a practical example thereof.

Following Mr. Jacobs's example, the genealogical table of a celebrated Jewish family is here set out. This *stemma* will show how titles had passed into surnames, while it will introduce individually to the reader's notice the names of several distinguished officials and financiers.



The appellation *Episcopus* or *Le Eveske* will be commented upon directly; here it need only be remarked that their identity, which might be assumed, is proved by referring to pages 112 and 113 of Mr. Rigg's *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, where it will be perceived that, whereas the scribes in the first section called a well-known member of this family *Elias Episcopus*, in the next section the same individual is called *Elias le Eveske*.

Of Benedictus Episcopus, the father of several distinguished sons, we know little, though the first mention of his name which the writer has noticed shows him to have been a prominent Jew. In an important action¹ which came before the Court in the Michaelmas term of 1218, involving a large number of the chief London Jews, he and Abraham, son of Muriel, were appointed attorneys on behalf of their brethren. His name also occurs in many other financial cases, but chiefly as the father of the sons whom we now proceed to chronicle.

Elias le Eveske, the most celebrated of these, is mentioned in connection with his father in the *Close Rolls* of 1232, where (p. 87) a sum of money is named which "R. de la Dune debuit Benedicto Levesk' et Elie filio suo"; with his brother, Solomon le Eveske, in the same volume, under date 1234, where (p. 376) a certain individual "debuit reddidisse Elye le Evesk' et Salomoni fratri Judeis London'"; with his sister Slema in the Jews' *Plea Rolls* in 1244, where "Geoffrey de Langele made fine with Slema, sister of Elias Episcopus, and Diaie, her son-in-law"; with his brother Jacob le Eveske in the *Close Rolls* for 1246, where we read "Rex concessit Jacobo fratri Elie le Eveske Judeo London' . . . domos quæ fuerunt Jocei de Colecester, etc."; and so on.

It was this Elias le Eveske who has been so often confused with Master Elias, the son of Master Moses of London. He was appointed Arch-Presbyter in the year 1243; and his remarkable and chequered career will be dealt with in the chapter on the Jews who held that office.

As, however, we are dealing with the family history generally, reference must be made to his son Hak, or Isaac le Eveske, who is alluded to in a document dated 1253, and quoted in full in Rigg's *Select Pleas* (p. 15), where Abraham, son of Moses, and Hak, son of Elias le Eveske, "acknowledged certain matters by their starr in Latin words, written

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 7.

in the Hebrew character with their own hands, and thereto set their seal." This Isaac, son of Elias le Eveske, is mentioned in other deeds; and in the *Close Rolls* for the year 1275 (p. 157), he is linked with his son Samuel; certain debts occurring in the names of "Isaac, son of Elias Episcopus, and Samuel, son of the said Isaac." The last-mentioned Jew is doubtless the same who sat on an important inquest¹ in the "Easter Month" of the same year (1275), and is there styled simply "Samuel le Eveske."

His father, Isaac, must be distinguished from another member of the family bearing the same name—his uncle, Isaac le Eveske, a son of Benedict Episcopus. This uncle was dead in 1267–8, when his widow Floria, or Fluria, paid 100 marks by way of fine² for the goods of the said Isaac.

Of Slema little is known, except (as was remarked in the above quotation) that her daughter married one Diaia—who must not be confounded with Diaia le Eveske, another of the sons of Benedict le Eveske. This latter is linked with his sister in an entry in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* (vol. i. p. 109), where an acknowledgment is made "by Diaie, son of Benedict, for himself and Slema, daughter of Ben' Episcopus."

It may here be incidentally remarked, and the remark should be borne in mind in many other cases, that the surname or appellation is not always used. For instance, in a document quoted by Mr. Rigg, in his *Select Pleas* (p. 65), the son, whom we are now dealing with, is called on one line "Diaia, son of Benedict, Jew," and a few lines lower down he is described as "Diaia le Eveske, Jew."

He seems to have been a man of some position in the Jewish community, for he served on several important inquests.³ Unless, indeed, the Diaia le Eveske mentioned

¹ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 87.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, p. 154.

³ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, Index.

in some of the records be a younger member of the family, who will be alluded to towards the end of this chapter.

Another daughter of Benedict Episcopus married a certain Moses,¹ who was prominent among the Jews of London.

To return to the sons of Benedict. Jacob le Eveske long held the post of Clerk² in the Court of the Exchequer of the Jews; entries from 1244 onwards contain official allusions to him. In 1246 the King granted³ to him, on account of his praiseworthy service in that Court certain houses in Oxford which had belonged to Joceus of Colchester, a Lincoln Jew. Reappointments to office are recorded in the *Close Rolls*⁴ in 1249 and 1252, where in the former year he is described as Jacobus Episcopus and in the latter as Jacobus le Eveske. In 1254 he and two of his brothers, Elias Episcopus and Solomon Episcopus (together with Aaron, son of Abraham), are named⁵ as "plegii de tallio." In 1257, at the instance of the Queen, he was himself exempted⁶ from tallage, and so was his son Benedict after his death.

There are many other references to his official acts or to his financial doings, but they need not be here recorded.

It may, however, be added that he lived in Milk Street,⁷ London, next door to Cok Hagin, and next door but one to Master Elias, son of Master Moses; and that, besides the son Benedict le Eveske just mentioned, he had a daughter⁸ Flora. Benedict was probably the son-in-law of Jacob of Oxford, mentioned in a curious record printed in Rigg's *Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 240.

This Benedict was alive at the Expulsion of the Jews

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 16.

² Dr. C. Gross, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 177.

³ *Patent Rolls*, 30 Hen. III., m. 1; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 59.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, 36 Hen. III., i. m. 7, and 36 Hen. III., m. 6; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 61 and p. 69.

⁵ Prynne, *u.s.*, p. 76.

⁶ *Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen. III., m. 13 and 17; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 81.

⁷ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 119.

⁸ Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 64.

in 1290, and is doubtless alluded to in the record¹ of the forfeited property in London, where we read that "Benedictus filius Jacobi Clerici" left a house in Milk Street, which was probably the above-mentioned property of his father.

The children of this Benedict Episcopus included Josce le Eveske, mentioned several times in Mr. Rigg's second volume of *The Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*; and Margalicia who (with her daughter Juda) is referred to in the *Close Rolls*, under date December 1280. Diaia le Eveske, son of Benedict le Eveske, often alluded to in the years just preceding the Expulsion, was probably another grandson of Jacob le Eveske, the Clerk of the Jewish Exchequer.

Going back to the children of the first Benedict Episcopus, there is yet another son—Solomon le Eveske—who figures prominently in the official and financial Jewish community. We have already quoted certain debts due, as early as 1234,² to "Elye le Evesk' et Salomoni fratri, Judeis London'"; and have pointed out how the three brothers "Elias Episcopus, Solomon Episcopus, and Jacob Episcopus" were in 1254 appointed,³ with Aaron, son of Abraham, to supervise the tallage of that year.

In 1259, Solomon was in difficulties; for a record in the *Chester Rolls* (p. 23), under date October of that year, tells us that Edward I. granted to Thomas de Wesenham, the King's surgeon, certain lands which had been escheated by Solomon le Eveske. In another entry in the same *Rolls* (p. 28), in the August of the next year, further allusion is made to the land that had been given to Wesenham, and to other property which, on a fine, had passed to Cresse and Hagin, sons of Master Moses, of London; and we are told that Solomon, when convicted of forgeries, had abjured the realm.

¹ Jacobs, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 22; B. L. Abrahams, *Transactions, J. H. S.*, ii. p. 97.

² *Close Rolls*, 1234, p. 376.

³ Pryne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. [74].

In the next year (1261), however, we learn from the Records¹ that "a patent of safe conduct" had been granted to Solomon "to return for a season for a special service"; while about the same date the King, at the Queen's petition, ordered² that "Solomon Eveske of London should be free for two years from all taxes." It should have been stated that on several previous occasions he had been similarly exempted.

Passing over various minor financial transactions, it may be added, in conclusion, that Solomon le Eveske was dead before the year 1275; for, in the *Close* and *Patent Rolls* under that date, we are told of a grant to Benedict of Winchester, a well-known Jewish official, "of the debts of Solomon le Eveske, formerly the husband of Flora la Blunde, late the wife of the said Benedict."

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 45 Hen. III., m. 13; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 87.

² *Ibid.*, m. 3; Prynne, ii. 86.

CHAPTER III

EPISCOPUS

THE foregoing remarks show clearly that in this case the term *Episcopus* or *L'Eveske* was a family name. And the particular instance with which we have been dealing contains the most important examples of the name among English Jews—Elyas le Eveske and his brothers Jacob and Solomon le Eveske being perhaps the best known bearers of the title.

Other instances of this family name might be given, but we proceed to deal with the equivalent Hebrew word. Mr. Israel Abrahams some time since drew attention¹ to an interesting old tally formerly in the Chapel of the Pyx, on one face of which the debtor was styled Samuel *Levesque*, while on another he was called Samuel *Cohen* (שמואל כהן). Similarly, in two MSS.² in the British Museum, the father-in-law of Manser of Breddesward is described in the Latin portion of the deed as Elias *Episcopus*, while in the Hebrew indorsement he appears as Elias *Cohen* (אליהו כהן).

These examples show, and other instances might be quoted, that the same individual might be called *Episcopus* in a Latin document, *Cohen* (כהן) in a Hebrew starr, *L'Eveske* in a Norman-French deed, and *Bishop* in an English record.

And that this name, originally implying descent from the priestly order, was a patronymic is evident from the family tree given at the beginning of Chapter II. This exactly tallies with such instances as the following extracts from deeds

¹ *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. iv. p. viii.; see also the *Jewish Chronicle*, 13th April 1900. It may be added that Prynne speaks of *Episcopus* as a family name.

² *Harl. Charters*, 43a, 66e; *Cotton, Nero*, c. iii. p. 183b; M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, pp. 293, 354.

printed in Mr. Davis's *Shetaroth*:¹ Samuel Cohen (שמואל כהן), Samuel ben Jehoshayah ha-Cohen (ר' שמואל ב' ר' יהושעיה הכהן), and Jehosayah ben Isaac ha-Cohen (ר' יהושעיה ב' ר' יצחק הכהן); where appear three generations of the same family of *Cohens*—the son, the father, and the grandfather, residents in Norwich in the thirteenth century. It may be added that we even find *L'Eveske* applied to a woman—a Jewess called *Muriel Leveske* being mentioned² in the *Plea Rolls* under date 1281.

Similar instances might be quoted from German records³ of the same date; thus, Suskindus Episcopus was the son of Moses *dictus* Episcopus, who was the son of R. Alexander hacohen; Samuel Pisghov (or Episcopus) was the son of Baruch hacohen, known as Anselm von Durem; and Isaac hacohen (*alias* Isaac Pippinus) was the son of Baruch hacohen (known as Seligman Rufus), whose father's name was Urschrage hacohen. It is therefore quite clear that Episcopus is in many cases hereditary, just as Cohen is, and for the same reason. It will be noticed that the term "dictus" used of the second name in the first family confirms the fact that we are dealing with the patronymic, and not with an official title.

Whether the name Episcopus or Le Eveske was also used in England as a title of office is open to question, though the many references by modern writers to Elias the Arch-Presbyter as "the Bishop of the Jews," "Pontifex," &c. (which we have shown to be a mistake), have obscured the answer. There are, indeed, a few allusions in documents to certain Jews to whom the title seems to be applied. Thus, under date 24 Henry II., one Deodatus is called in the *Pipe Rolls*⁴ "*Episcopus Judæorum*," but this may be a mistake for "*Deodatus episcopus judæus*," and so in two or three other cases. The individual referred to appears only

¹ Davis, pp. 55, 137, 224, &c.

² *Plea Rolls*, 9 Ed. I., rot. 4, Nolf.; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 95–6.

³ Hoeniger, *Das Judenschreibsbuch der Laurenzpfarre zu Köln*.

⁴ Madox, *Hist. of Exch.*, ii. 206; Jacobs, *Jews in Angevin England*, p. 65.

as a financier. On the other hand, the old story¹ of King Henry II.'s jest, when he compared "a certain bishop of the Jews" favourably as against some English prelates, would support the theory of an office-bearer,² at any rate at an early date.

We know, too, that in Germany—at Köln, for instance—an official of the Jews was yearly chosen who is called *Episcopus* in Latin documents. Unfortunately, however, though this title is found in several deeds, the present writer has only come across one bilingual document³ where the expression occurs, and in that case the word which is apparently the equivalent of "*Episcopus*" is not "Cohen," but "Parnas." The words in question read as follows: "Nos episcopus, magistratus Judæorum ac universi Judæi civitatis Coloniensis notum facimus universis," &c., in the Latin, and in the Hebrew

הננו המנהיגים והפרנס וכל עדה קהל היהודים מורעים לכל.

We have seen above that, whatever this official use may have been in Cologne, the name *Episcopus* or Cohen was then frequently employed as a patronymic.

We may sum up by saying that, whereas, perhaps at an early date, in some places there was a Jewish official whose name in certain Latin deeds is translated *Episcopus*, yet the use of that term in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was generally in connection with the families of the Cohens.

Another tribal, or family, name—that of Levi—is often met with. Only in this case there is no suggestion of any official usage. That the name is a patronymic needs no proof. As one would expect, it is shown by such family groups⁴

¹ J. C. Robertson, *Materials for History of Thomas Becket*, iv. 151; Jacobs, *u.s.*, p. 45.

² In Blomfield's *History of Norfolk* (ii. p. 46) there is reference to Ursell, son of Isaac, whom the historian calls "the high priest, the bishop of Jews in Norwich." The present writer has not had the advantage of seeing the Norwich municipal MSS. Ursell, the son of Isaac, as we learn from deeds given in Davis's *Shetaroth* (pp. 89 and 211), was called by alternative names (see p. 70).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, Index.

as Sampson Levi, of Norwich, and his sons, Jehoshua Levi, Meir (or Haggin) Levi, and Moses Levi, with Joseph Levi, son of the last-mentioned; and (so from German records¹) Eliakin or Godeschalcus Levi and his brother, Isaac Levi (Levita), the sons of Joel ha-levi (called Joel halevi hazaken, and also known as Adolf).

Another name—that of *Presbyter* or *Le Prestre*—similar to *Episcopus* or *Le Eveske*—may be supposed to be an alternative to the latter, although the terms are occasionally used, alongside of one another, for different persons in the same deeds. The present writer has not met with any document wherein a Hebrew addendum has given in that language the name² corresponding to the Latin *Presbyter* or the Norman-French *Le Prestre*, although the name is fairly common. There is no mention of any official post held by any bearer of the name, except perhaps in the case of Jacob the Arch-Presbyter.³ But the important office assigned to the prominent Jews who held that rank will be dealt with in the next chapter, where it will be maintained that the Arch-Presbyterate was not an ecclesiastical, but a civil and financial, office.

Yet another name presents itself—Capellanus, *Le Chapelein*, or *Chaplain*. The present writer has not met with a bilingual deed, giving an equivalent⁴ in Hebrew to this expression. A curious entry⁵ in the *Exchequer Rolls of the Jews* for the year 1219 would suggest that the holder of some office was there implied by the word. The quotation reads as follows: "London: a day assigned to the Chaplains of Jewry, and inquest to be had of the demand they make upon the Jews. (Dies datus est Capellanis de Judaismo et

¹ Hoeniger, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, &c.

² קִּי apparently occurs in certain continental documents.

³ See p. 24.

⁴ In Davis's *Shetaroth*, the title of a Christian "Chaplain" is sometimes transliterated הקפלין (p. 191), and sometimes rendered גלח, pp. 324, &c.

⁵ Cole, *Documents of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, p. 296; Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 10.

inquirendum est de demanda quam exigent versus Judæos.)” Remarks have been made elsewhere¹ upon the difficulty which the official clerks must have had in translating Jewish Hebraical titles into Latin. The writer knows of no entries or records which explain or illustrate this passage; nor can he quote any other use of the Latin term *Capellanus*, except in a curious case,² dated many years later (1267), where some Jews were accused of poaching at Colchester. One of those indicted is described as “Isaac Capellanus Judæus.” Mr. Jacobs translates this “Chazan or Cantor of the Congregation.” But by that date the use of the corresponding terms *Le Chapeleyn* or *Chaplain* was not infrequent; and it seems then to be used, like *Presbyter* or *Le Prestre*, as a surname. Indeed, in 1270 we read of “Deulecresse le Chapeleyn³ of Exeter,” and six years later we find a record of “Deulecresse le Prestre⁴ of Exeter” who may have been the same person. And so we have *Sampson Presbyter*⁵ of Canterbury in 1266, and *Sampson le Chapeleyn*,⁶ in the same city at the Expulsion; though in this case, of course, the length of the interval might tell against the identification. On the whole, it may be said that the name *Chaplain* (whatever its origin) had, like *Presbyter*, become a surname in 1290; and, indeed, in the lists of Jews of that period, we find at Hereford,⁷ for instance, such names as *Benedict le Evesque* and *Abraham Chaplain*, where in the latter case we might have perhaps expected *Abraham le Prestre*.

¹ See p. 37.

² Cutts's *Colchester*, p. 122.

³ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, ii. pp. 135, 261.

⁴ *Close Rolls* (1276), p. 271.

⁵ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 36.

⁶ B. L. Abrahams, *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, ii. p. 89.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. p. 158, and ii. p. 92.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARCH-PRESBYTER

THIS chapter will be devoted to an account of the officials who held what we may call the post of Arch-Presbyter, and to a consideration of their status and duties.

The question has been discussed by many writers—by Coke¹ and Selden,² by Prynne³ and Tovey,⁴ and in recent times by Mr. Jacobs⁵ and Dr. C. Gross;⁶ and indeed a learned essay⁷ by the late Chief Rabbi has been entirely devoted to the subject.

Unfortunately the title of this last-mentioned essay, "The Chief Rabbis of England," though natural enough to the distinguished writer, was certainly never used in pre-Expulsion days. It will be maintained in this chapter, that it is better to employ the actual titles formerly used by these officials. Moreover, certain of the mistakes pointed out in our first chapter were adopted by Dr. Adler, while many facts relating to the individual Arch-Presbyters have leaped to light since the Papers were read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition.

We prefer to give data first of all, and afterwards to draw conclusions and make suggestions. We shall therefore at once proceed to deal with the facts which have been recorded in connection with the six eminent Jews who held the office in question.

"The 'Presbyter omnium Judæorum Angliæ' seems to

¹ Coke, 2 *Institut.*, p. 508.

² Selden, vol. vi. p. 1088.

³ Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 62.

⁴ Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 53, &c.

⁵ *Papers, Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition*, Jacobs, p. 46, &c.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Gross, p. 178, &c.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Dr. Adler, pp. 253-288.

have been always appointed for life, so that we meet with only six of them from 1200 to 1290," says Dr. Charles Gross, in the able and accurate paper¹ on "The Exchequer of the Jews," which he read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition.

We proceed to deal with these six—*Jacobus Judæus Londoniæ*, *Josceus*, Presbyter of London, *Aaron* of York, *Elias le Evesque*, *Haginus filius magistri Mossei*, and *Haginus filius Deulecres*.

1. JACOBUS JUDÆUS LONDONIÆ.

Among the *Charter Rolls* of the first year of King John is one² often quoted, and given in full in the Appendix to this chapter, which "grants to Jacob, a Jew of London, Presbyter of the Jews, the Presbyterate of the Jews of the whole of England" (*Jacobo, Judæo de Londoniis Presbytero Judæorum Presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ*). The appointment is declared to be for life, and the King promises to defend the Presbyterate and to cause compensation to be paid without delay by any one who should transgress against Jacob, who is declared to be "our royal Jew whom we retain specially in our service" (*dominicus Judæus noster, quem specialiter in servicio nostro retinuimus*). The charter continues: "We also forbid that he be called upon to plead about anything relating to him, except before us or before our Chief Justice, as the Charter of King Richard our brother testifies."

This last clause shows that the appointment of Jacob as Arch-Presbyter was a confirmation of one held by him in the reign of the previous King; but unfortunately the *Charter Rolls* of the monarch who preceded John are, with few exceptions, not extant.

There is another royal charter of exactly the same date, granting safe-conduct both "beyond the sea and on

¹ *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 178.

² *Rot. Chart*, i. 7; *Prynne, Short Demurrer*, i. 44; ii. 3, 4; *Fuller, Church History*, i. 448.

this side," to "Jacob, Presbyter of the Jews, our well-beloved and intimate friend [*Jacobus Presbyter Judæorum dilectus et familiaris Noster*], through whatever towns and places he may pass."

Both these charters were given by King John, under the hand of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, Chancellor of the kingdom, and were dated at Rouen, July 31, 1199.

No other references are known to Jacob who was thus appointed, or rather confirmed, Arch-Presbyter of the Jews of England, unless he be identical (as Mr. Jacobs asserts¹) with the Jacob mentioned in the following extract from the *Pipe Roll* of 29 Henry II. (Norfolk and Suffolk): "Duzelina, widow of Mosse-with-the-Nose ('Nosey Mosse'), owes 5 marks for having the debts of her husband on the surety of Jacob the priest and Sanson his brother." Jacob is possibly—again the conjecture is made by the author of the *Jews of Angevin England*—the R. Jacob quoted in Benedict of Oxford's commentary on Job. Dr. Adler also asks:² "Can Jacob the Arch-Presbyter be identified with any one else cited in Hebrew literature?" and points to "R. Jacob of London," who translated the whole of the Passover Hagada into the vernacular. But, like the above, this identification is conjectural, as the Chief Rabbi allows.

2. JOSCEUS JUDÆUS DE LONDONIIS.

In 1207, the eighth year of the reign of King John, a royal charter,³ the phraseology of which was almost word for word with that of the one quoted above, appointed Josceus, a Jew of London, Arch-Presbyter. The office, as before, was for life.

Josceus was a member of a well-known family. In the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*,⁴ where there is a reference to a stone house in the parish of St. Olave in the (London)

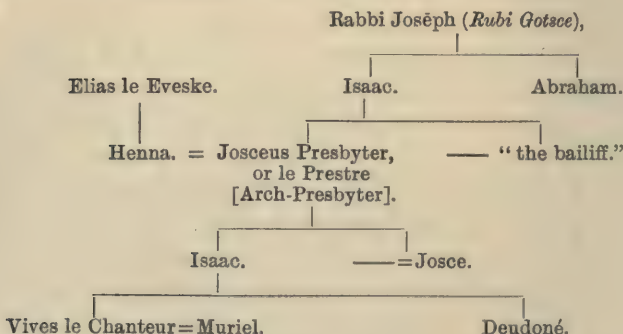
¹ Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 84 and 203.

² *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 263.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera* (1816), i. p. 95.

⁴ *Sub anno 1228*, p. 74.

Jewry, he is called "Josce, the son of Isaac, the son of Raby." Now Isaac fil. Rabbi was the chief Jew in the days of Richard I., and many financial and other transactions are recorded in connection with his name. The grandfather,¹ who is so emphatically called Rabbi, was Rabbi Joce or Joseph, whose designation is sometimes written "Rubi Gotsce," and whose public dealings are chronicled as early as the reign of Henry I. The family relationships may be seen in the following table:—



A Josce, son of Isaac, who may be the future Arch-Presbyter, is mentioned in the *Pipe Roll*² for 1198, in an action against Roger Mortimer; while in the following year we learn from the *Charter Rolls*³ that he had sold the manor of Turroc to Sir Henry de Gray on behalf of himself and his father Isaac. With reference to this latter transaction, it may be recalled that early in his reign Richard had confirmed⁴ to "Ysaac, son of Rabbi Josce, and his sons, and their men," Turroc (which the said Isaac had bought of the Earl of Ferrars) and other properties, which had been acquired in the time of Henry II. Another record, also in the *Charter Rolls*,⁵ under date 10th June 1203, informs us that Josce sold a house at

¹ Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 15, &c.

² Quoted by Jacobs, *u.s.*, p. 183.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

Rouen which had belonged to his father Isaac and to his grandfather, Rubi Gotsce.

After Josceus was appointed Arch-Presbyter there are many allusions in various Rolls to his official and financial dealings. He had houses, rents, and lands¹ in the London parishes of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, St. Michael Bassishaw, and St. Olave Jewry. Some of this property passed out of his hands during his lifetime, but much of it went at his death to his son Isaac or, as dower, to his widow Henna, daughter of Elias le Eveske. If the Elias le Eveske here mentioned be the one who afterwards became Arch-Presbyter, it may be suggested that Henna was the wife of his old age.

At the inquisition about his property, held in 1252, after his death, his son Isaac applied "for a scrutiny of the *Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*." Such of those records as survive—and fortunately a great deal remains—is being published under the able editorship of Mr. Rigg. In the first section of these Pleas, from 1218 to 1220, there are many references to Josceus, some of them relating to personal transactions and some to official acts. Among the most interesting of the latter is a record,² under date 1219, where the executor of the "old Earl Marshall" (William, Earl of Pembroke), claimed from Sampson Furmentin certain moneys. The Jew's defence was that he was never indebted to the said Earl for that sum, and that an inquest had been ordered and held about the matter. "That the inquest was had he puts himself upon Josce Presbyter (*ponit se super Josceum Presbiterum*). Upon reference to Josce, he says that the inquest was not had, but remained *res infecta*, &c. Judgment, that, as Sampson put himself upon Josce, and Josce failed him, Sampson be in mercy (*i.e.* liable)."

In various records³ about this date, occur the names of

¹ *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, 36 Hen. III., no. 249; Jacobs, *Papers*, A.-J. H. E., p. 32; Adler, *ibid.*, p. 263.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. pp. 12, 13.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-49.

Isaac, the son of Josceus, Josce, his son-in-law, and Abraham, his nephew.

From the *Patent Rolls* of 1224 (p. 496), we learn that "Josce le Prestre" was an official connected with the tallage arrangements; and other *Rolls* speak of other transactions.

With reference to the form of the name just mentioned, it may be remarked that the Latin, or the Norman-French, is used at different times and by different scribes. For instance, in the *Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, in the Easter term of 1244, there is a case¹ between Sabina, widow of John Fauciliun, and Isaac, son of Josce *Presbyter*; in the Holy Trinity term of the same year, the records² of the same court tell us that Sabina, widow of John Fauciliun, and Isaac, son of Josce *le Prestre*, made concord by leave of the Justices.

Later records³ tell us that Isaac, the son of Josce, was *converted* when the Jewry was in the hands of Prince Edward; though his name occurs still later on in Jewish transactions.

We have already alluded to the Inquisition that was held in 1252, after the death of Josceus *Presbyter*, as to his houses, rents, and lands; and it may be added that there are frequent references to the subsequent disposition of this property, not only in the names of his widow Henna and his son Isaac, but also of his grandsons⁴ Vives and Deudoné, as well as in the name of Muriel, widow of the former of those two sons of Isaac the Convert. In two or three records the husband of Muriel goes by the interesting name of Vives *le Chanteur*.

The successor of Josceus as Arch-*Presbyter* was

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 65.

² *Ibid.*, p. 80.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. 258; ii. 49.

3. AARON OF YORK.

The *Close Rolls*¹ of 21 Henry III. (September 29, 1236), and the *Charter Rolls*² (December 28, 1236), record the appointment as Arch-Presbyter of the celebrated financier, Aaron of York. The former (which is given in full in the Appendix) says that the King granted to Aaron the Jew of York the Presbyterate of all the Jews of England for life; it adds that, as often as Aaron cannot sit in the King's Exchequer, Josceus, the son of Copin, is to take his place. The Rolls, which Josceus Presbyter his predecessor had, are to be handed to Aaron.

Aaron was the son of the celebrated Josce of York, whose house in that city is described by William of Newbury³ as "like a royal palace," and as "rivalling a noble citadel in scale and stoutness of its construction." He narrowly escaped death in the riot at the coronation of King Richard, only to meet his fate shortly afterwards at the memorable massacre in York, in the account of which we read that, in their awful despair, "the famous Joce cuts the throat of Anna, his dear wife, with a sharp knife, and did not spare his own sons. And when this was done by the other men, that wretched elder [R. Yomtob of Joigny] cut Joce's throat, so that he might be more honoured than the rest." From this cruel carnage, Aaron of York somehow escaped, living to be one of the leading Jews of the thirteenth century.

The financial dealings of this well-known Jew are continually mentioned in contemporary records;⁴ but the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* for the seven years during which he held the post of Arch-Presbyter are unfortunately

¹ *Close Rolls*, 21 Hen. III., m. 18; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 38.

² *Charter Rolls*, 21 Hen. III., 1236, p. 225.

³ Ed. Howlett, i. 318; Jacobs, *Jews of Angerin England*, p. 117. The chronicler describes the foreign elder as "a certain old man, a most famous Doctor of the Law, according to the letter that kills (*juxta literam quæ occidit*)!"

⁴ As quoted in Prynne, Jacobs, &c.

missing, so that we cannot quote any official references from that source.

Aaron of York took to wife Henna,¹ heiress of Samuel [le Eveske], son of Leo Episcopus, thus marrying into another influential family of that city. This lady's name often occurs in financial transactions both before and after the death of her husband, which took place shortly before 1270, in which year occur a set of records, printed by Mr. Rigg in his *Select Pleas* (pp. 52 and 53), relating to Henna, *widow* of Aaron of York. We need not here enumerate certain sons and nephews of the wealthy Aaron of York.

4. ELIAS LE EVESKE.

When Aaron of York relinquished, in 1243, the office of Arch-Presbyter, after holding it for seven years, he was succeeded by Elias Episcopus, who retained the post for fourteen years. The *Patent Rolls*,² under date 17th October 1243, recorded his appointment, and so do the *Close Rolls*³ of four days later. In these latter we read how the King "assigned and granted the office of Aaron's *Presbyteratus Judæorum Angliæ* in the Exchequer to Elias le Eveske, a Jew of London, or his attorney, with all the Rolls of the Exchequer belonging to Aaron, in as ample manner as Aaron formerly held them: commanding the Justices assigned for the Jews' custody to invest him in this office of Aaron." All records of debts, &c., were to be submitted to his "view and testimony," and (in words identical with those used at the nomination of his predecessor) Joceus, the son of Copin, is appointed deputy in his absence.

It has already been pointed out how much confusion has been introduced by the identification of Elias le Eveske with Master Elias, son of Master Moses of London, and further, by mistaking his family name *Episcopus* for some official

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 210.

² *Patent Rolls*, 1243, p. 397.

³ *Close Rolls*, 1243, ii., m. 3; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 54.

designation¹ (and in particular for the title of the important post which we are now considering).

Elias le Eveske was, as we have seen,² the son of Benedictus Episcopus, and the brother of Solomon le Eveske and of Jacob le Eveske, who was a well-known clerk in the Exchequer of the Jews. The records of the family have been dealt with in a previous chapter.

It would be tedious to refer to the many records of his acts and deeds; to his property in London, Northampton, and elsewhere; to his guardianships, &c.

It should, however, be noted that he was one of the representatives³ of the London community at the so-called Jewish Parliament held at Worcester in the year 1241.

He was also, at about this date, one of the Jewish chirographers in London, and he continued⁴ to hold the appointment even after his nomination to the office of Arch-Presbyter. In the year 1244-5 he and his fellow Jewish chirographers, together with their Christian co-officials, were accused of irregularity in their duties. "Wherefore [the record⁵ says] all are in mercy, and are to be removed from office, and kept in safe custody until they answer as to the chirograph. They afterwards made fine," Elias Episcopus escaping the most easily, paying seven marks of gold.

A record in the *Close Rolls*, dated 11th June 1249, "commands the Justices of the Jews not to allow any Jew to have any bailiwick in the Jewish Exchequer (*aliquam Ballivam ad seaccarium Judæorum*), except Jacob Episcopus, Abraham, son of Vives, and Jacob, son of Flurye; and if Elias Episcopus, who was previously at the said Exchequer,

¹ Thus Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (edn. 1640), p. 887, calls him "Elyas de Londino Judæorum pontifex," and this although on a previous page (982) he had styled him "Elias Judæus, Londini, cognomento Episcopus."

² See p. 12.

³ See pp. 86, 150.

⁴ Dr. C. Gross, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 179, says "he had been" a chirographer, which expression seems to forget the fact that he continued to hold that office when appointed Arch-Presbyter.

⁵ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 92.

shall sit there (*resideat ad idem Scac.*) by the precept of the King, then the King wishes that they should receive Aaron, son of Abraham, as his associate."

Three years later¹ Henry III. assigned Elias Episcopus and Aaron, the son of Abraham, just mentioned, to tax the rest of the Jews upon a common tallage, a third Jew being chosen by the community to sit with the other two.

In the following year² (1253) the tallages became so unbearable that Elias made his famous and pathetic protest against them. After this, troubles accumulated upon the unfortunate Arch-Presbyter, and at length, in 1257, he was deposed³ from that office. Two years later (according to the curious account⁴ given by Matthew Paris) Elias, "whose surname was Bishop," became a convert; he afterwards made various accusations against the Jews, alleging that attempts had been made to poison certain noblemen. This conduct, however, did not save his property, for we learn from the *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (p. 16) that "the King, in consideration of a fine of 400 marks, made a gift to Master Elias, son of Master Moses, of all the lands which Elias le Eveske, formerly a Jew of London, held in the city of London and in the town of Northampton on the day in which he was converted from Jewish pravity to the Christian faith, by which conversion his lands escheated to the King."

His subsequent career is difficult to follow. His confusion with Master Elias has caused several events to be attributed to him which really occurred to that son of Master Moses, from whom the above quotation so clearly differentiates him.

At the period of the Expulsion, we find⁵ an Elias le

¹ *Close Rolls*, 36 Hen. III., m. 7; Prynn, *Short Demurrer*, ii. pp. 71, 76.

² Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (edn. 1640), p. 887, where he is styled "*Elyas de Londino Judæorum pontifex.*"

³ *Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen., m. 4, no. 6; Prynn, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 80.

⁴ Matthew Paris, *u.s.*, p. 982, where he is called "*Elias Judæus, Londini, cognomento Episcopus.*"

⁵ Jacobs, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 22; B. L. Abrahams, *Transactions J. H. S.*, ii. p. 97.

Eveske living in Sprier Street, near the Tower, and this may have been the former Arch-Presbyter, whose strange vicissitudes we have been describing.

With the members of his family we have dealt in the previous chapter.

5. HAGIN, SON OF MASTER MOSES.

From a Patent Roll, dated 20th July 1257,¹ we learn that on the deposition of Elias Episcopus from the Presbyterate (*Sacerdotii officium*) and from all other offices and bailiwicks which he held, the King, in consideration of a fine paid on behalf of the community of the Jews, granted that the said Elias should never henceforth hold the said priesthood, and that none of the community should in future be Priest (*sacerdos*) except by the common election of the said community, and that the said community should have free power, after the decease of any priest so elected, of electing a priest whomsoever they wished, and of presenting him to the King, that he might obtain his assent and favour.²

From the *Charter Rolls*,³ under date 24th February 1258, we learn that after the aforesaid deposition of Elias Episcopus, and in accordance with the grant to the community (*universitati*) of the Jews of the power of electing his successor, the said community presented Hagin, son of Master Moses, a Jew of Lincoln, as their choice. The King

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen. III., m. 4, no. 6; Prynn, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 80. It is only fair to point out that in this record we have a reference to "Cresse et Haginus fratres ejusdem Judæi," which has been quite naturally used to support the identification of the deposed Elias with Elias, the son of Master Moses of London. The distinction between these namesakes is, however, so clear that there must be some confusion in this statement, or some explanation thereof.

² Mr. C. T. Martin (*Archbishop Peckham's Letters*, ii. p. xci) observes: "We see from this system of *congé d'élire* and confirmation that the supremacy claimed by the English Crown in ecclesiastical matters was not confined to the Christian Church"; but Mr. Martin holds too sacerdotal a view of the Arch-Presbyterate.

³ *Charter Rolls*, 1258, p. 8.

thereupon confirmed the said election, and granted to the said Hagin the said office for life.

We have already dealt with the family of Master Moses, to which the office of Arch-Presbyter was thus assigned, and in which it continued until the date of the Expulsion.

It will be noticed that the new Arch-Presbyter is said above to be "a Jew of Lincoln," and it will be remembered¹ that his brother, Master Benedict, was also prominently connected with that city. Various interesting documents have been published by Selden, Prynne, Maddox, Tovey, and other writers,² wherein our official is described in such terms as the following: חיים דניקול, Haginus filius Magistri de London', Haginus Judæus Lincoln', Hagyn le fiz Mestre Moss, &c.

In a very curious record, published by Mr. Rigg in his *Select Pleas* (pp. 73-76), the following description of his official duties is given: he was "under oath to the King faithfully to assist the King's Justices in the Exchequer of the Jews by his advice and in setting forth the King's rights." This is emphasised, because in the case in question he had concealed certain facts, in order to favour his daughter, who had married Benedict, the son of Cok, the son of Aaron. Certain goods are said to have been carried by night to the Tower of London, where the said Hagin then resided (*moram fecit*). Nothing was then (1264) done, "by reason of the lordship (*propter dominium*) of the said Hagin, until our Lord the King be in England."

Among the many financial and official notices of Hagin of Lincoln in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* and in other *Rolls*, the following³ may be quoted: "Be it had in remembrance, that Hagin, son of Master [Moses], came before, &c., and acknowledged *on behalf of the whole*

¹ See p. 10.

² Selden, *Titles of Honour*, p. 644; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 99; Maddox, *Formula Anglicana*, p. 689; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 32, 34, 48.

³ Rigg, i. p. 201.

community of the Jews of England a debt of £39 to Peter Ereand, merchant, for wines had from him to the use of the King, the said money to be paid the said Peter at Easter in the 52nd year" (1268).

In 1273, an official inquiry was held as to the action of Hagin, in the matter of his son-in-law Benedict, the son of Cok, referred to above; and, though the record¹ does not state the result of this inquiry, yet we find shortly afterwards that the Arch-Presbyter "cannot be found," and has "gone overseas."

In the year 1275,² an action was brought against him on several charges, and the Constable of the Tower, who was commanded to attach him, sent word that the said Hagin is in prison at Windsor, and cannot quit the prison without special mandate of the King.

In 1278, inquest³ was made touching the lands, rents, houses, and other tenements, which Hagin, son of Master Moses, held within the City of London.

Other records of disputed dealings in connection with houses in Lincoln and York, and of troubles and imprisonments, follow, until a final allusion, in the year 1280, mentions his committal⁴ to prison, because he had fraudulently received certain moneys.

In the midst of these troubles he was arrested by the hand of death; a record⁵ in the *Patent Rolls* speaking of him as deceased in this same year, 1280.

6. HAGIN, SON OF DEULECRESSE.

The *Patent Rolls*,⁶ under date May 5, 1281, record the appointment of Hagin, son of Deulecresse, a Jew of London,

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, ii. pp. 83, 98, 121, 142.

² Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 84.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁵ *Patent Rolls*, 9 Ed. I., m. 20; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 59; "Haginus, filius Magistri Mosei quondam Judæi London defunctus."

⁶ *Patent Rolls*, 1281, p. 433; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 59; Rymer, *Fœdera* (1816), i. p. 591.

to the post of Arch-Presbyter (*officium presbiteratus Judæorum*), like as Hagin, son of Master Moses, deceased, or any other before him, held that office.

From a document, printed in the *Select Pleas* (pp. 87, 88), it is evident that this Hagin was also known as Cok Hagin; and from another deed in the same volume, we find that Deulecresse was a longer form of the name Cresse, who was one of the sons of Master Moses, as has been pointed out in the previous chapter. Hence we see that the new Arch-Presbyter was a nephew of his predecessor. The estimable character¹ of his father Cresse has been already depicted; and it has been remarked how easily the paternal property passed from father to son. The dwelling-place which he thus inherited was situated in Milk Street, London, between the house of Jacob le Clerk and that of Master Elias, an uncle of Cok Hagin, who was one of the heirs² of this uncle and one of the grandsons³ of the heirs of Cresse, son of this same Master Elias.

By-the-bye, there is a very curious document, dated 1275, printed in full by Mr. Rigg in his *Select Pleas of the Exchequer of the Jews* (p. 87), which shows how Master Elias—in his position as a “Master” of the Jewish Law—had to decide a question against his nephew Cok Hagin. The deed begins as follows: “Edward, &c., to his Justices, &c., Greeting:—Know that we have given and granted to our dearest Consort, Eleanor, Queen of England, all the debts owing to, and goods, and chattels of Cok Hagin, Jew, of London, which debts, goods, and chattels concern Us as forfeit, by reason that the said Jew is excommunicate, and long ago refused, and still persists in refusing, to suffer himself to be tried according to the Law and Custom of our Jewry; which said debts and chattels are in our tallage on account of the tallage of the said Jew; &c.” Reference is then made to a former case of excommunication, to which

¹ See p. 9.

² *Close Rolls*, 1286, quoted in *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. iv. p. 217.

³ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 133.

Cok Hagin's case is declared by his uncle, Master Elias, to be similar.

Mr. Rigg, in an interesting note,¹ conjectures that this excommunication of Cok Hagin was probably due to the temporary triumph of a faction in the Synagogue. His subsequent election as Arch-Presbyter shows his ultimate victory.

It was at the Queen's request that the King confirmed his official appointment; but Eleanor seems still to have had a hold upon his property which had been forfeited at the time of his excommunication.

Various records of his official and personal transactions might be quoted; but nothing of importance seems to have happened during the period of his tenure of the Arch-Presbyterate, which lasted from 1281 until the Expulsion of the Jews from England, a decade later.

We have thus carefully and systematically set forth the various facts known about the six eminent Jews who held the office with which we are dealing in this chapter.

Now, from these facts and from the documents which have been referred to, and which are quoted in full in the Appendix, let us consider what is the correct title to apply to those officials, and what was their position, and what the nature of their duties.

Unfortunately we have no contemporary Jewish chronicles which shed light upon the subject, from the point of view of the Israelites themselves; we have to fall back upon such legal documents as have been preserved in the public archives. These, however, of course, carry with them the weight of official accuracy; and incidentally in the *Plea Rolls* references are made, and evidence is quoted, as to these officers and their status.

The documents quoted are almost all written in Latin. We must not therefore expect the technical terms used in

¹ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 88.

that language exactly to correspond to Jewish ideas or phraseology.

It must be remembered that at the Expulsion of the Jews in 1290, there was a complete collapse of all Jewish jurisdiction and legal proceedings until the Re-admission under Cromwell, more than three and a half centuries later. So that there was no continuity or natural development of phraseology in the Law Courts.

And as to the ordinary English chroniclers and historians, their notices of the Jews are generally brief and often prejudiced; while their references to Jewish titles and offices are, not unnaturally, quite casual and unscientific.

Accordingly when, towards the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, legal and literary writers began to allude to the old Jewish officials, we need not be surprised that their references were vague, and not written with that technicality which should be used now when we have before us so many opportunities of consulting the old records.

Sir Edward Coke,¹ Selden,² Purchas,³ Fuller,⁴ and others allude to the *Presbyterate*, which is the subject of this chapter, and assume that it refers to "an ecclesiastical High Priesthood, Episcopacy, or Priestly Aaronical function, exercised over the English Jews in their synagogues." And even Prynne,⁵ when he began to deal with the subject, followed these writers, "whose venerable authorities (he says) at first induced me to that opinion." But the author of the *Short Demurrer*, whatever we may think of his style and of his opinions, was a great student of original documents and deeds; and his searches among the national records soon caused him to change his opinion, and to maintain, in his

¹ My Lord Coke, for instance, says of King John and the Jews: "To the end they shall exercise the *Laws of their Sacrifices* (which they could not do without a *Priesthood*), the King by his Charter granted them to have one" (2 *Instit.*, pp. 507-8).

² Vol. vi. p. 1088, quoted by Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 39.

³ *Pilgrimage* (1617), p. 172, and *Pilgrims*, p. 1441.

⁴ *Church History*, iii. pp. 84, 85.

⁵ Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 39.

own vigorous manner, that the post was "a mere secular office in the King's Exchequer of the Jews to keep the Rolls of Comptroll."

Prynne, however, strangely enough drew a distinction between the terms *Presbyter* and *Presbyteratus*, used in the deeds appointing the former Arch-Presbyters, and the words *Sacerdos* and *Sacerdotium*, employed in the later Charters; and concludes abruptly: "Therefore certainly these offices were distinct, the one ecclesiastical, the other temporal, in the Exchequer only."

Tovey,¹ who was always keen to attack Prynne (though he was not equally ready to express his indebtedness to that painful investigator), naturally seizes this distinction made by the author of the *Short Demurrer*, and quite rightly insists that the same officer and same office are referred to in the terms *Presbyter* and *Sacerdos*, *Presbyteratus* and *Sacerdotium*, throughout the documents which record the appointments of the six Arch-Presbyters.

Tovey goes further, and vigorously supports "my Lord Coke and Mr. Selden" in maintaining that the said office was ecclesiastical, and the said officers were "high priests."

All the arguments of the author of *Anglia Judaica* need not be reproduced; but it must be allowed there is something in the following passage,² criticising Prynne:—

"Now, he argues, that since, upon the appointment of a *Presbyter*, it appears he was to attend at the Exchequer, and had the custody of the Jewish Rolls, therefore the *Presbyteratus* was certainly a civil office. But surely nothing more can be concluded from hence, than that who had the *Presbyteratus* granted him, had likewise, by way of appurtenance (for the Record says *cum Pertinentiis*), the Controllership. For it can never follow that because the Bishop of Salisbury, for example, is Chancellor of the Garter, therefore the Bishop of Salisbury is a civil officer."

Tovey is not, however, so correct in the sentences which

¹ Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 53, &c.

² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

follow this quotation: "We may observe further that *Presbyteratus* can't possibly be a civil office, because *Presbyter* is no civil officer; for we find that those who are promoted to the *Presbyteratus* are always *Presbyters* *before* they receive the King's commission. Thus, in the first-quoted Record, the King stiles Jacob, *Presbyter*; and we must observe, likewise, that in these cases, the King does not grant any *Presbyteratum* or priesthood, *simply*, but *Presbyteratum omnium*; a general and universal priesthood, which plainly shows that it was some kind or other of ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

Tovey's statement here, that the officers were "always *Presbyters* *before* they received the King's commission," is not correct. It is not so stated of any of the other five Arch-*Presbyters*, and even in the case of Jacob the statement is doubtful.

The question has been revived in modern times. Mr. Joseph Jacobs says (in one of the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers¹) that "Elyas le Evesk [whom he calls the chief ornament of the Hagin family] was elected *Episcopus*, or *Dayan*, in succession to Aaron of York in 1237." It would be impossible to crowd more mistakes into one short sentence. The late distinguished Chief Rabbi, Dr. H. Adler, it has already been pointed out, devoted a paper² in the same series to the officials whom this chapter discusses. "Where (he says) the title *Presbyter omnium Judæorum Angliæ* occurs it does not to my mind admit of doubt that we have to deal with an individual who actually exercised the functions of Chief Rabbi." Hence he calls his paper an account of "the Chief Rabbis of England," and he "proceeds to deal with those who are mentioned as having actually held the post of *spiritual chiefs* during the period prior to the Expulsion."

The Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Papers also contain another most admirable contribution³ by Dr. Charles Gross, who uses the following well-weighed words:—

"There is conclusive evidence to show that the '*Pres-*

¹ *Papers*, A.-J. H. E., p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 253, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 178, &c.

byter omnium Judæorum Angliæ' was an officer of the Jewish Exchequer, but the sources do not yield sufficient data to enable us to clearly define his duties. In the Letters Close elevating Elias Episcopus to the presbyterate the Justices of the Jews were ordered to issue no summons concerning any debt which ought to be accounted for before them, except by the view and testimony of the said Elias or his attorney. It is quite probable that the Presbyter was a successor of the Jewish Justices or Wardens mentioned towards the close of the twelfth century. He probably scrutinised and verified doubtful Hebrew contracts laid before the Court of the Jewish Exchequer, and would be appealed to by the Justices for information concerning disputed points of Jewish usage.

"[I have found an important passage in a case which concerned Hagin, son of Master Moses, wherein that Arch-Presbyter is stated to have been sworn in the Jewish Exchequer to look after the administration of justice on behalf of the King, and to explain the King's laws (*juratus fuit domino Regi in scaccario Judæorum ad justitiam domini Regis fideliter consulendum et jura Regis exprimendum*)]. As he was always one of the most prominent Israelites of England, his advice and influence must also have been very useful to the King when the latter wished to tallage the Jews. If his authority had been any higher, any more mandatory, he would figure more prominently in the Plea Rolls of the Jewish Exchequer."

To these judicious remarks are added learned notes, which space forbids us to insert. Dr. Gross concludes his observations in the text by the following diplomatic addendum:—

"I have only briefly touched upon the secular duties of Elias, the Chief Rabbi, or, as Matthew Paris calls him, the Pontifex of the Jews, leaving the whole subject of the presbyterate and 'pontificate' to be more fully and more ably discussed by the writer of a future paper to be read in this place. I wish merely to add that it ought not to surprise us to find rabbis serving in various offices of the Jewish Exchequer in

an age when abbots, bishops, and even archbishops were conspicuous among the barons and higher functionaries of the Great Exchequer of England."

The "future paper" is, of course, Dr. H. Adler's article on the so-called "Chief Rabbis."

The present writer ventures to suggest that Dr. Gross's addendum is written half-heartedly, and that the inverted commas over the word "pontificate" show that the author of the paper on "The Exchequer of the Jews" felt that the functions of the Arch-Presbyter were entirely, or almost entirely, secular.

It is, of course, true that again and again in any dealings with regard to the Jews, certain matters touching their law and their religion must have been encountered, and that any Jew holding office may have been competent and might have been asked to give an opinion or advice on the point in question. It is also true that, among the six eminent men who held the high office of Arch-Presbyter, there may have been men of rabbinical learning, though there is no proof of this. But questions of Jewish legal and technical difficulty were referred to the "Masters of the Law," as will be seen in a subsequent chapter.

The whole subject has been complicated and confused by the Latin terms *Presbyter* and (occasionally) *Sacerdos*, adopted by the professional scribes of the English Law Courts, and the use of similar expressions—such as *Pontifex*, "priest and bishop," and so on—by the chroniclers and historians, who did not understand certain names and phrases employed by the Jews. An ecclesiastical atmosphere has thereby seemed to envelop the Exchequer of the Jews which did not actually surround it.

Let any one read the account of the acts and deeds of the Arch-Presbyters, as given in the former part of this chapter, and the documents in the Appendix at the end; let any go through the subsequent chapter on the Masters of the Law (noting also that not one of the Arch-Presbyters is designated *Master* or *Rav*); and let the remarks upon the

words *Episcopus* and *Le Eveske* be remembered (noting again that only one of the great officers with whom we are dealing bore that name); and the writer believes it will be granted that the *Presbyter omnium Judæorum Angliæ* had not, as such, any sacerdotal or ecclesiastical duties; nor had he, as such, any rabbinical functions; and that therefore it is best to avoid applying to him such titles as "High Priest" or "Chief Rabbi."

CHAPTER V

OTHER JEWISH OFFICIALS

IN addition to the Arch-Presbyter, there were other Israelites officially appointed to posts in connection with the Court of Exchequer of the Jews, or with the collection of tallages and fines.

Thus we are told,¹ during the incumbency of the Arch-Presbyterate by Elyas Episcopus, that if he should not sit in the Jewish Exchequer, then the King's will was that the Justices should receive Aaron, the son of Abraham, "*tanquam socium suum.*"

But, first, mention must be made of certain appointments² which ranked perhaps even higher than that of the Arch-Presbyter. In the reign of Richard I., we find certain Jews—Benedict de Talemunt and Joseph Aaron—regularly installed in the King's Courts of Justice as Wardens or Justiciars of the Jews. They do not, however, seem to have had successors in their high office; and the other officials, to whom we are about to allude, were rather advisers and clerks than judges and justices.

There were, indeed, in connection with the Jewish Court of Exchequer, certain Justiciars,³ or Wardens (*Justitiiarii, Custodes, Judæorum*); or, as they are more elaborately called, *Justitiiarii ad custodiam Judæorum assignati*, but these judges were not Israelites—they were Christians, Norman or English, frequently of high standing.

Still certain Jews were officially attached to the Law Courts; Jacob le Eveske, for instance, was appointed⁴ to

¹ *Close Rolls*, June 11, 1249, quoted on p. 32.

² Dr. C. Gross, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 174.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁴ Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 69.

a post which entitled him to be called "Jacobus Clericus"—as may be seen from the following Royal warrant: "Mandatum est Justiciariis ad custodiam Judæorum assignatis, quod faciant habere Jacobo le Eveske Judæo residentiam in scaccario Judæorum in servicio regis, et quod ad ipsum pertinet, secundum legem Scaccarii regis, sicut et predecessoris sui clerici regis ibidem habere consueverunt." The names of several of his predecessors and successors are on record.

Dr. Gross, who treats this subject with much detail and great accuracy in a section of his admirable paper on the Jewish Exchequer, quotes from Shirley's *Royal Letters of Henry III.*,¹ a reference to some Jewish officials who are said to follow the King's Court—"qui curiam vestram sequuntur."

There were also some Jewish clerks of somewhat inferior position—Manasser,² for instance, frequently occurs in documents of the first half of the thirteenth century, as "clerk" (*clericus*) or "scribe" (*scriptor*).

Again there were such minor offices³ as that of the Court messenger (*nuncius*), or the caretaking bailiff (*ballivus*). The post of "*serviens Judæorum*" was probably of more importance, as it was at one time held by Isaac of Southwark,⁴ a Jew of considerable wealth and standing.

In connection with the assessment and the ingathering of the money and heavy tallages inflicted upon the Jews, it was of course of first importance to the royal tax-gatherers that they should be helped and advised by Jewish counsellors, who knew the capabilities and the whereabouts of their brethren. Accordingly prominent Israelites were induced or compelled to act as talliators or assessors, both generally and locally. This plan may be illustrated by the following Royal Warrant,⁵ which had better be quoted in full, as it has been misinterpreted:—

¹ Shirley, ii. 46.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i., Index.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 19, 45, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁵ *Close Rolls*, 36 Hen. III., m. 7; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 71

"Rex assignavit Eliam Episcopum et Aaron filium Abraham Judæos Londoniæ ad assidendum tallagium super communitate Judæorum nostrorum Londoniæ, ita videlicet quod communitas illa eligat ipsis tertium idoneum ad tallagium illud una cum dictis Elia et Aaron assidendum. Et mandatum est Constabulario Turris Londoniæ quod ipsum tertium sic electum eis faciat associari; firmiter injungendo eis quod taliter ipsi provideant de tallagio illo assidendo quod Rex illud terminis statutis habeat; et quod pro defectu eorum non oporteat regi graviter se capere ad talliatores prædictos." So, at an earlier date (1237), "a Commission¹ was issued to Garsie of Lincoln, Sampson of Northampton, Dyaya, son of Master of Cambridge, and others to assess generally upon all Jews of the land having chattels (except Elias le Evesk and Isaac, son of Josceus of London) the tallage of 3000 marks which the said Jews owed to the King, to be paid within a month of Easter. When they have made their assessment and reduced it to writing, they were to deliver that writing to Aaron de Eboraco and his fellows, whom the King had appointed to make the distraint for the said tallage, and to collect and receive the same."

Allusion should also be made to the Escheators (*Custodes Escaëtarum*). Benedict of Winchester, for instance, was appointed to this office by Edward I. in the year 1276, in accordance, he says, with the custom of his father.²

Another set of officers we find connected with the Chests placed in various towns where the Jews were allowed to dwell. These *archæ* were used for the storage of the starrs and other deeds relating to the innumerable financial transactions. Keepers³ of these chests were appointed from among the prominent English and Jewish citizens, generally two of each, and were known as *Cyrographarii archæ Judæorum*, or *Coffrarii*, or *Custodes archæ*. Clerks and other

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1247, p. 178.

² *Close Rolls*, 4 Ed. I., m. 7, quoted by Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 69; Dr. C. Gross, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 177.

³ Dr. C. Gross, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 183.

inferior officers—including Jews—were also employed to enrol or certify the documents deposited in, or released from, these chests.

The *Plea Rolls* of the Court of the Exchequer of the Jews have preserved for us the names of many of these officials from Moses¹ of London, who was Jewish Chirographer of the metropolis, and his sons, Benedict² of Lincoln and Jacob³ of Oxford, who each held a similar appointment in the city where he dwelt, down to the clerks,⁴ and scribes, and messengers⁵ of smaller towns.

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. 128.

² M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 298.

³ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 101.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 16, &c.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i. p. 223, and ii. 132.

CHAPTER VI

THE MASTERS OF THE LAW

THE preceding chapter has dealt with Jewish officials who were connected with the English law-courts—the Arch-Presbyters, the clerks, the escheators and their fellows, who had public duties relating to tallages and taxes, to chirographs and bonds, to starrs and tallies. It is true that their appointment was doubtless made for the convenience of the Sovereign and his courts; they were useful in matters of custom and religious usage, of language and phraseology, as well as for their knowledge of the wealth and capabilities of their Israelite brethren. Yet they were civil officers with secular duties.

But almost from the first there was another aspect of Jewish life in England. They had, as they always have had, their internal relationships in their own circles; they brought with them, and they retained, their own cherished laws and customs. And this modified home-rule was allowed by the authorities; in many matters a Jew might “put himself upon” his religious leaders; there was almost always (as Mr. Rigg remarks ¹) “a qualified autonomy of the Jewry.”

Early in the reign of Henry II., the English clergy complained ² that privileges were denied to them which were allowed to the Israelites; while, later on, this separate jurisdiction of the Jews *inter se* was confirmed by public charter ³ in the time of King Richard and re-enacted in the following reign. In certain cases they could claim to be tried by their peers (*per pares Judei*). “All differences amongst them,

¹ *Select Cases*, pp. xiii. and 95.

² J. C. Robertson, *Materials for History of Thomas Becket*, iv. 148; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 42, 43.

³ Rymer, *Fœdera* (ed. 1816), i. 51; Jacobs, *u.s.*, pp. 134–6.

which did not concern the pleas of the Crown, should be heard and determined by themselves, according to their own law" (*Deducantur secundum legem suam et emendantur, et justitiam suam inter se ipsos faciant*).

In the *Pipe Rolls*, we find such entries¹ as the following:—

"The Jews of Cambridge owe half a mark of gold for having an agreement among themselves (*pro facienda concordia inter ipsos*)"; "Benedict the Jew owes three marks to have respite in the plea between him and Moyses the Jew"; "Josce Salvage renders count of 10 marks for a respite of the pleas between the Jews of Lincoln on the surety of Aaron the Jew"; "The Jews of Exeter render count of one mark gold for a fine for pleas which were between them in common"; Leo, Jew of London, and Deulebenie, Jew of Chichester, (each) had to pay "for licence to come to terms" with one another; "Judas, Jew of Bristol, owes two ounces of gold for an inquisition made in a chapter of the Jews (*in capitulo Judæorum*) whether a Jew ought to take usury from a Jew."

The same question was discussed in an important case, given in Rigg's *Select Pleas*.² Abraham, son of Joce, of York, asserted that "a Jew may take usury by a Christian hand, and if it seem unjust to his opponent, let him go before the Masters of his Law in Chapter (*in capitulo coram Magistris de Lege sua*) and implead him there, because matters of this sort touching his Law ought not be corrected elsewhere." Again, he says, that Jews may have starrs of this kind by way of chirograph of debt between Jews and Jews written and placed in the Jews' Chest by the hands of their own clerks." Abraham had previously urged that a distraint might be made "either in the Court Christian, or the Court Jewish (*in Curia Judaica*)."

Other instances might be given of similar transactions according to Jewish law and custom—such, for instance, as the making of wills³ (*testamentum suum secundum consuetudinem Judaismi nostri fecit*); but these may suffice.

¹ *Rot. Cart.* i. 93; Jacobs, pp. 212–5.

² *Select Pleas*, pp. 65, &c.

³ *Patent Rolls*, 54 Hen. III., m. 3; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 127.

In two examples quoted above, references are made to the Chapter of the Jews (*Capitulum Judæorum*), and to the Masters of the Law (*Magistri de Lege*).

What was the Chapter? who were the Masters?

Every one will, of course, at once answer: that the Chapter was the Beth-Din, the ordinary Jewish ecclesiastical tribunal. And this answer is doubtless correct. But it must be remembered that the great majority of the records of the legal proceedings of those days come to us written in Latin—the whole, for instance, of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews are inscribed in that language. It has before been remarked how difficult it must have been for the clerks of the Court—even for the Jewish clerks—to express in Latin the technical terms used in the laws and customs of the Jewry. So that we cannot be surprised that we do not find a transliteration, or a translation, of the term “Beth-Din” in the Rolls of the English Courts. Perhaps the expression *Capitulum Judæorum* comes as near as we could expect; for it will be remembered that the word *Chapter* has an ecclesiastical ring about it. When, however, we turn from the *Plea Rolls* and other English records to such deeds and documents in Hebrew as have been preserved at Westminster, at the Record Office, or in the British Museum, we find (as Mr. M. D. Davis’s collection of שמרות reminds us) that various questions among the Jews are referred to a tribunal of their co-religionists, and that that tribunal is described as the Beth-Din, בית דין (see pages 5, 35, 112, 144, 178, 300, 336, &c.).

Next, it must be asked, who were the members of courts known as Beth-Din? Now, it happens that in each of the seven cases just mentioned the names of the assessors or witnesses forming the tribunal are preserved. But it should be pointed out that the cases referred to are all of them concerned with marriage settlements or widows’ jointures, not involving any very knotty points of law. It should also be remarked that the names of the officials are not recorded in the text of the document—in which case their prefixed title would be given

—but as signatures at the foot—where they simply write their personal name. Of the 21 signatures, only one has an official ring about it; the instance being the second of the three names attached to an undated Canterbury deed:¹ יהודי בהחבר יהודק דין ומ'ץ. Mr. Davis remarks that this “witness appears to be a Rabbi in office.” It may be added that the honourable title given to the father (haber) may be taken to imply that he, too, was a man of learning, though not an official.

Among these seven trios no name seems to be more prominent than the others; no one appears as אב בית דין or ראש מקום. In some cases the members have the word עד (“witness”) appended; they were merely witnesses of the transactions, who, being possessed of the requisite qualifications, were appointed (הוברין) a beth-din *ad hoc*. Had the question to be decided been some point of difficulty or obscurity, it may have been that men of greater position and experience might have been called upon. Then perhaps we should have been introduced to some “Master of the Law” or other high official.

To determine, then, who was a Master of the Law we must look at other evidence than Mr. Davis’s interesting volume of *Shetaroth*.

Let us turn to Mr. Rigg’s *Select Pleas*, and quote again a passage or two from a document² recorded among the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews, under date Holy Trinity Term, 1275. The case has reference to the “debts goods and chattels” of Cok Hagin (afterwards Arch-Presbyter)—“by reason that the said Jew was excommunicate, and refused to suffer himself to be tried according to the law and custom of our Jewry.” The Justices were not able to ascertain by any inspection of the rolls of their Court what heretofore had been wont to be done in like case, save only that a writ of King Henry III. was found relating to the excommunication³ of Sadekin, a Jew of Northampton,

¹ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 338. ² Rigg, *Select Pleas*, pp. 87, 88.

³ Fuller (*Church History*, i. p. 450), speaking of the excommunication of

dated January 30, 1270. From this it appeared that the King had summoned to his presence Master Elias, son of Master Moses, and, in accordance with his testimony, Sadekin's goods had been declared forfeit. In Cok Hagin's case, the same Master Elias (who, by-the-bye, was uncle to the defendant) is again called in. This learned Jew, who is styled "Master of the Jewish Law" (*Magister Legis Judaice*) testified (*testificabatur*) before the Justices that his nephew was in the same predicament as Sadekin had been.

What, then, was the position of this "Master of the Jewish Law"? As we have seen, he, like his father Moses before him, was technically styled "Master."

Now, before we answer the question, it is again necessary to clear away one of Mr. Joseph Jacobs's ingenious speculations. In a very interesting article contributed to the 19th volume of the *Revue des Études juives*, Mr. Jacobs has printed some remarkable letters of the thirteenth century, unearthed at the Record Office by Mr. C. Trice Martin. From this correspondence, and from an entry in the *Patent Rolls* for the year 1280, we learn that Master Elias, son of Master Moses (accompanied by "his Jew, Abraham Muton"), had a safe-conduct granted him, as a physician, to visit the Court of Flanders. From this singularly interesting record Mr. Jacobs generalises as follows: "Le titre de *maître*, *mestre* ou *magister*, indique probablement un médecin en Angleterre aussi bien qu'il l'indiquait, comme on sait, en Espagne à cette époque. La science médicale devait être héréditaire dans la famille d'Elyes, puisque son père aussi s'appelle *maître*, 'Magister Mosse.'"

Similarly, in two or three passages in his *Angevin Jews*,¹ Mr. Jacobs speaks of the title "Master" as applied to Moses of London and others as signifying a "physician." But, while the epistolary reference to Master Elias as a medical man is the Jews, says: they were "no ecclesiastical censure; rather a civil remedy (equivalent to the University's discommuning a townsman at Cambridge), whereby the Jews were debarred all commerce with Christians—worse to them than the plagues of Egypt"!

¹ Jacobs, pp. 174, 219, &c.

a most happy discovery, there is no justification for saying that the prefix "Master" was due to his scientific attainments; still less for applying the same argument in connection with his father Moses. In one of the passages just referred to in Mr. Jacobs's excellent Angevin volume, the list (dated c. 1186) contains¹ not only the name "Bendit gen. Mag. Mosse," but also those of "Ysaac *medicus*" and "Josce fil. *medici*." Had this *Magister* Moses been a physician, he would doubtless have been accorded the same title as Isaac.

Coming back to Master Elias, the quotation given above shows that he was a man learned in the law; and similar passages remind us that here and there in the places where Jews congregated there was a "Magister Legis." Such was another son of Master Moses, "Magister Benedictus filius Mosse de Londres," who (as we have seen²) was settled at Lincoln, and was also known as "Rav Berachyah de Nicole [Lincoln]." Such were one or two other "Magistri Mosse," who are not to be confounded with the father of Master Elias and Master Benedict; such are Master Benjamin of Cambridge and Master Aaron mentioned among the contributors to the Northampton Donum. And such, doubtless, were several *Masters* whose names are not recorded, they being apparently so well known among their co-religionists that their sons are simply called "Elias fil. Magistri," "Solomon fil. Magistri," &c. Such, again, turning to the thirteenth century, were Master Samuel of Loun, Master Isaac of Oxford, Master Sampson of Lincoln, Master Elias of Norwich, and others mentioned in the reports of the Exchequer of the Jews and other Rolls.

Of these Masters of the Law and their functions and decisions we have various records, of which the following may serve as specimens:—

In the *Patent Roll*, dated 28th July 1250, King Henry III. granted a licence to the Masters of the Law of the commonalty of the Jews in London to excommunicate such Jews (*promulgare possint summam excommunicationem in*

¹ Jacobs, pp. 88, 89.

² See p. 10.

omnes illos Judæos) as refused to contribute the subsidy they had promised towards sustaining their common cemetery in London. The King characteristically adds: "*Ita quod Nos et non alii de Judæis excommunicatis sufficientes emendas recipiamus*"—upon condition, that is, that what fines they were to pay should be received by his Majesty!

Again, with reference to the case¹ of a Jew of Oxford—with a questionable character and with a strange name, Joce Bundy—"it was witnessed by the Masters of the Law (*testatum fuit per Magistros Legis eorum*) and the entire community of the Jews, that, if any Jew were by any one asked of what Law he was, and did not forthwith answer that he was a Jew, he would thenceforth no more be held by them as a Jew." Joce Bundy had been asked by the Justices whether he was minded to cleave to the Christian or to the Jewish Law, and he had craved respite for his answer from Friday to the Monday next following. It is not recorded what were the results of his cogitations on the Jewish Sabbath and on the Christian Sunday, but we are told that the *Magistri Legis* "say that he is no Jew, nor of any Law, for which cause they witness (*testantur*) that all his chattels are forfeit to the use of the King." The Jews did not generally hand over their moneys willingly to the Royal Exchequer, but we can understand their acquiescence as to these tainted shekels!

More might be said of the Masters of the Law, of their titles and position, of their *responsa* and decisions; but perhaps these remarks may serve as specimens. The subject, too, will be renewed in the opening sentences of the following chapter.

¹ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, pp. 95, 96.

CHAPTER VII

RABBIS

“THESE (what you call them) *Rabbies, Rabs, Rabbins, Rabbenues, Rabbonies*, or howsoever they be stiled,” wrote Richard Montagu, in his *Diatribæ upon the History of Tithes* (p. 252). These words are not too polite; but it must be admitted that, to an outsider at any rate, the variations of the word Rabbi are rather confusing.

Not that these variations obtrude themselves very much upon the student of the history of the Jews in England before the Expulsion. Most of the documents with which he has to deal have to do with the law courts or with the collection of taxes; very few are concerned with matters literary or religious. The majority of them (as has been already remarked) are written in Latin, in which language we should not expect a discrimination¹ of the above “stiles.” Indeed, as a general rule, the names of Jews are given in such documents without any prefix. Two exceptions must, however, be emphasised. The title of one notable Israelite in the twelfth century is frequently given, transliterated sometimes roughly as “*Rubi Gotsce*” or “*Rabijoce*”² (*i.e.* Rabbi Josce, or Joseph), sometimes more accurately—naming his sons—as Isaac the Jew, son of *Rabbi* (*Isaac Judæus filius Rabbi*), or Abraham, son of *Rabbi* (*filius Rabbi*).

This emphatic use of the title must, of course, imply that the bearer of it was an official of recognised standing. Unfortunately there are few extant Hebrew documents of the twelfth century, and only one of them apparently refers

¹ Mr. Israel Abrahams says that the mediæval Jews had a general dislike of Latin (*Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 363).

² Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 15, &c.

to this renowned Rabbi. A deed¹ in the British Museum (*Additional MS.* 1250) records a receipt on behalf of "the Honourable R. Isaac, son of the Honourable R. Joseph" (הנריב ר' יצחק בן הנריב ר' יוסף). Here, however, the same title² is accorded to the son as to the father, although Isaac is not elsewhere (as far as the writer knows) given a distinctive title, as is so often the case with "Rabijoce." It may be remarked that the deed we are quoting is accompanied by an acquittance—in Latin, which unfortunately throws no light upon this question.

No Hebrew decisions or commentaries remain to justify his emphatic position as an Anglo-Jewish Rabbi, unless we accept Mr. Jacobs's identification³ of him with R. Joseph of Orleans, a Tosaphist, also known as Joseph Bechor Shor.

Another title, which is used with technical discrimination, and with much frequency, especially in thirteenth century Latin documents, is the word *Magister*. This term has already been dealt with at the close of the last chapter—it being there contended that the title is equivalent to *Magister Legis*, and is applied to Jews who were officially authorised to give legal decisions. Here we need only inquire if, by comparing bi-lingual documents, or otherwise, we can confirm that suggestion.

Take, for instance, the celebrated deeds as to the site of Merton College, Oxford; here the vendor's name appears in the Latin deed⁴ as "Jacobus filius *Magistri* Mosey Judei London.", and in the Hebrew endorsement as יעקב בן רב משה רלונרש; while in a Lincoln document⁵ about his brother Berachyah de Nicole, the descriptions are respectively *Magister* Benedict and הרב ר' ברכיה. In both these cases, and others

¹ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 287.

² *Nadib*, however, is rarely a title; it rather implies a wealthy patron of learning (Jacobs, p. 253), and both these qualifications might well be inherited.

³ *Ut supra*, p. 403.

⁴ See facsimile in frontispiece of this volume.

⁵ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 309.

might be cited, we see the title *Master* corresponds with *Rav*, or *Rav Rabbi*.

A consideration of the consistency and of the comparative infrequency of the expressions suggests that the terms were technically applied to one holding an official position of considerable importance in the Jewish community.

Having dealt with these exceptional cases, we may return to the ordinary term Rabbi, or rather to the contraction ר' ; with the remark that while there are many cases here and there where the use does not obtain (the usage perhaps varying in different localities), as a general rule the term is applied to the names of all Jews in Hebrew documents—much as the prefix Mr. is used nowadays.¹ In Latin documents, however, the names of Jews are scarcely ever accompanied by any prefix.

As against this same simplicity, an addendum ought to be added, drawing attention to a document of great interest, which proves quite an exception to the statement just made, whilst it illustrates the complexity of the opening sentence of this chapter.

In a remarkable communication contributed by Professor Kaufmann to the *Jewish Quarterly Review* (vol. iii. pp. 555, &c.), a curious and interesting Anglo-Jewish pedigree is quoted from an ancient Frankfort MS., commencing as follows:—

זה העבור קצב משה בן הנד' הר' יעקב בן רבנו
 משה מלונדרש בן הרב רבנו יט' שחבר ספר התנאים
 בנו של הנד' הרב ר' משה (sic) מברשטו. . . .

This genealogical table throws fresh light upon the celebrated family of Moses of London ; but it is here quoted to illustrate the variations of the title with which the chapter deals. The composer of the Calendar, in accordance with the usual modest custom, states his own name, without any prefix,

¹ Zunz, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 185, points out that this use of the word *Rabbi* for *Mr.* was still rare in the twelfth century ; later it becomes more common.

simply as "Moses the son of ——." His father's name is given as the *Nadib* Jacob; the grandfather appears as *Rabenu* Moses of London, whose father, we are told, was the *Rav Rabenu* Yom Tob, the author of *Sepher Tanaim*, who was the son of *Nadib Rav* Moses of Bristol, and so on.

CHAPTER VIII

OTHER JEWISH OFFICES

IN the preceding chapter we have dealt with those learned men to whom, under the title of *Rabbi*, *Rabbenu*, &c., some official position was assigned in the Jewish communities.

But there were other authorities of whom we must take notice—officers varying in rank from the *Parnass* to the *Shamash*, from the president to the beadle. And it is interesting to consider certain of these cases, because at the period which we are concerned with, or, at any rate, towards the end of it, it is sometimes difficult to say whether these terms are used as titles, or are passing into surnames. Several of the names of the offices afterwards became patronymics, but it is not easy to decide at what exact period this process began.

Have we, for instance, proper names or official titles in the following notices? Benedict *Pernaz*,¹ a Jew of Lincoln, acknowledges a debt in the Pipe Roll of 6 Richard I., and at about the same date made a fine with Richard of Stanford, while he and Abraham *Pernas*, also of Lincoln, contributed to the Northampton Donum in 1194. In a London record of the Plea Rolls² of the Exchequer of the Jews for the year 1244, "Benedict Crespin appoints Isaac *Pernaz* his attorney *versus* William de La Neweland and Robert Rumbauid touching a plea of debt." While, to quote a fourth instance, one of the Jewish witnesses to the Oxford deed³ about Merton College, quoted in the last chapter, is Moses *Parnas*. It may be, of course, that these Jews were in each case the

¹ Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 174, 189, 349, &c.

² Rigg, i. p. 59.

³ Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 182, reads Mosey Parnat; but see Neubauer, *Jews at Oxford, Collectanea*, ii., O.H.S., p. 303.

“warden” of their community; but it may also be that the title was gliding into a surname. And this latter alternative seems the more likely in the Lincoln case,¹ where we meet at the same date with both Abraham Pernas and Benedict Pernaz, as well as a Jewess named Riche, daughter of Isaac Pernas.

This last remark may be applied to Abraham Gabbai² and Benedict *Gabbay*, Jews of Bristol, whose names appear together as contributors to the Northampton Donum in the fifth year of King Richard. Unless these were the two “Treasurers” at the same time, the term גבאי seems to be rather a surname than a title. In a Norwich deed,³ under date 1251, a bond is “deposited in the hands of R. Jacob *Gabbay* (ר' יעקב גבאי), as a pledge for payment should an engagement not be met.” This sounds rather official. Again in a Nottingham document, also printed in Davis’s *Shetaroth* (pp. 267–270), Abraham ben Isaac Gabbay sells part of a bond. This also is “a monetary transaction”; but ר' אברהם בן הח' ר' יצחק גבאי seems to be acting in his private capacity, although he might be the official “Treasurer” of the Jewish community. There is also a Lincoln Latin charter,⁴ without date, recording a release by Isaac *Gabois* fil. Benedict, who signs his name in Hebrew simply as יצחק בן בנייט. The Abraham *Gabbay*,⁵ mentioned so frequently, and under such strange circumstances, in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* in the years 1220 and 1221, may be the Jew just named in this paragraph, though some of the references to him are rather official in character. There was another Abraham Gabbay half a century later,⁶ who was evidently a man of position in the London community.

The important terms, Episcopus or Le Eveske, Presbyter

¹ M. D. Davis, “Jews of Lincoln,” *Archæological Journal*, xxxviii., pp. 178, &c.

² Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 347, &c.

³ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 48.

⁴ British Museum, *Harl. Ch.*, 43a, 57; M. D. Davis, *u.s.*, pp. 307–8.

⁵ Rigg, i., Index.

⁶ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, pp. 90, 93.

or Le Prestre, Magister Legis, &c., have been already discussed, and so has the title *Dayan*, which, however, seldom occurs in Anglo-Jewish records, though Mr. M. D. Davis, referring to a Canterbury deed, which he prints on pages 336–338 of his *שטרות*, says that “one of the witnesses appears to be a Rabbi in office.” The Jew thus described signs himself יהוצד ברחבר יהוצדק דין ומ'ץ, as already noted.

It may be added that there is another title, *חזח*, which may be translated *Episcopus*—an instance may be seen in a signature attached to a document in the volume just mentioned, a Latin charter,¹ about some property in Westchepe. Among the witnesses were the Lord Mayor and other citizens of London, together with certain Jews, including יוסף החזח and מנחם הסופר. The former of these titles may be identical with the commoner חזן הכנסת.

With regard to the second title, we not infrequently find *Sofers*, such as *Vives Scriptor* and *Vivus* “the scribe of Helyas.”²

An important holder of the office of *Hazan* was יעקב בן יהודה חזן מלונרין, whom Dr. H. Adler³ calls Jacob, the son of Judah *Episcopus* of London. The term *hazan* originally meant *superintendent*, and this would in a sense coincide with *episcopus*. But it is very doubtful whether *hazan* should be thus translated in the present context. Dr. Neubauer⁴ is wiser when he transliterates the term and writes Jacob, son of Judah *Hasan*. The same author, writing about the Oxford Jews, has a learned note⁵ which gives examples both of the *Precentor* and of the *Scribe*, of the *Hazan* and of the *Sopher*: “Kennicott mentions, in his *Dissertatio Generalis*, a codex formerly in the possession of Lord Simon Ulman at Pferschen, and written by Isaac the Scribe, the son of R. Elijah the *Hazan* (*Chantre*) of Oxenfurt (אויכשנפורט), at Brussels, dated

¹ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 356.

² Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, pp. 277 and 363.

³ *Papers*, A.-J. H. E., p. 276.

⁴ *Jews at Oxford, Collectanea*, ii., O.H.S., p. 287.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 314.

1307. "Of course," Dr. Neubauer continues, "Isaac the Scribe may be an exile from Oxford in 1290, settled at Brussels; but we believe the place from whence Isaac came is Oxenfurt in Bavaria."

Under a more English aspect, we find several allusions¹ in *The Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* to such men as Hak' le Chauntur and Vives le Chantur. The former resided at Lincoln; the latter was a grandson of the celebrated Josce le Prestre, alluded to in a former chapter.² Muriel, the widow of Vives le Chantur, had considerable litigation as to her husband's goods and chattels.

In dealing with a very curious Colchester case of poaching in December of the year 1267, wherein several Jews were concerned, Mr. Joseph Jacobs speaks³ of one of the accused—Isaac *Capellanus* Judæus—as "the Chasan or Cantor of the Congregation." But we have already discussed the title *Capellanus* under the section on the term *Episcopus*.

In one or two legal cases as to the seizure of property, there is reference to a "nuncius"⁴ of the Jews; but, as remarked above, this official seems to be rather a subordinate of the law courts than the שלוח מצוה of the Jewish community.

In a Norwich deed,⁵ dated 1265, among a large number of witnesses occurs the name of יוסף שוחט, the context showing that this is most probably a patronymic (*cf.* the name Schechter).

It may be that *Nakdan* (le Puncteur) is sometimes a family name, but no instance of such usage seems to occur in the English records.

¹ Rigg, i. 145, 258, &c.

² See page 26.

³ Outts' *Colchester*, p. 122.

⁴ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 223, and ii. p. 132.

⁵ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 129.

CHAPTER IX

JEWISH SURNAMES

IN the preceding chapter we have been dealing with the titles of various officials in the Synagogue or other members of the Jewish community. Several of these terms were obviously the technical names applied to the holders of offices more or less important; though some of them may have been passing into personal or *surnames*.

In the chapter upon which we now enter, we occupy ourselves with names,¹ most of which have become distinctive of families.

And very varied are the *surnames* which we meet on all hands. It is still true that most of the Jews are said to be the sons of their fathers—Aaron, the son of Abraham; Elias, the son of Moses, and so on. But there was a great similarity among these Israelitish names, many of which were taken from the Holy Scriptures. Accordingly, it became convenient, both among themselves, and in their intercourse with the nations among whom they sojourned, to adopt an additional and distinctive name.

One of the most frequent methods of distinguishing the leading Jews was the appending the name of the locality with which they had been connected. Aaron and Josce and Isaac of York, Benedict and Chera of Winchester, Abraham of Berkhamsted, Solomon and Moses of Cambridge, Hagin and Benedict of Lincoln, Isaac of Norwich, Jacob of Oxford,

¹ In dealing with the names of Jews before the Expulsion, it should be noticed that in such writers as Prynne and Tovey, and even in such official publications as the *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, frequent and strange mistakes are made in transcribing the Hebrew names from the old MSS. Elsewhere the present writer has quoted the following remark by the author of *Anglia Judaica* when alluding to a list of such names: "As they make but indifferent Musick, I shan't repeat 'em."

Moses of London, Isaac of Southwark, Isaac of Warwick Aaron of Rye, Moses of Clare, Isaac of Gernemuth (Yarmouth), and many others thus named after their domicile, continually occur. And the consideration of these names opens up a question of some importance, upon which an essay of much interest might be written. The distribution of the Jews throughout England, and the marriages between different families, as well as the commercial links between the leading financiers, throw much light upon the habits and customs of Judaism before the Expulsion. Such an investigation would not only refer to the great cities and towns, but would also allude to out of the way places—at least at certain periods—where Jews stayed or settled—as far north as Jarum,¹ as far west as Honiton,² or even as parts of Cornwall.

Sometimes a Jew was distinguished by the particular part of the town in which he lived, as Benedict de la Cornere³ (of Oxford); Vives, son of Moses, de Ironmonger Lane⁴ (of London); Leo of Milkstreet (of London);⁵ or Abba of Dogestrete⁶ (of Canterbury). Similarly the foreign origin of Jews from “over the seas” was remembered. We meet with such names as Judah the Frenchman⁷ (*le Franceys, Gallicus*, *הצרפתי*); Solomon de Paris (*מפריש*); Benedict de Talemunt (from Rochelle); Yomtob de Joigny; Master Joce of Germany (*Magister Jocus de Alemannia*); Ysaac of Russia; Moses of Spain; Josce the Moor (*Mauritii*); Jacob the Angevin, and his brother Joseph the Peitevin; (*יעקב אונג'בין*) *בן הקד'*⁸ יצחק ור' יהוסף פייטבין אחיו David le Lumbard;⁹

¹ See the Tally described on p. 81.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of Jews*, i. 258; *Select Pleas*, p. 61.

³ Neubauer, *u.s.*, p. 312.

⁴ Jacobs, *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 22.

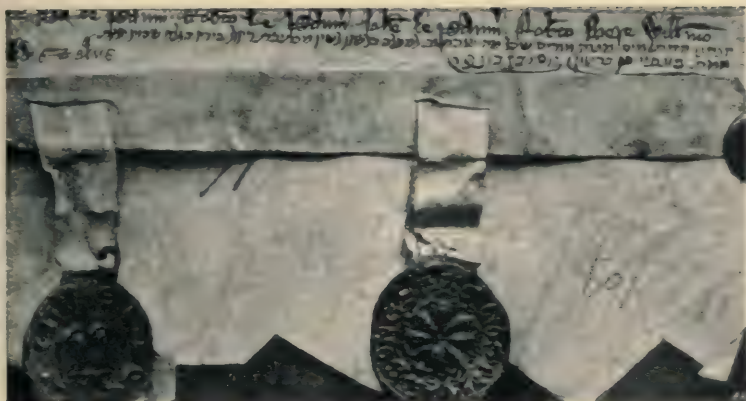
⁵ See same remarks on Jewish Place-Names in *Notes and Queries*, 8th Series, vi. 45.

⁶ *J. H. S. E.*, ii. 89.

⁷ Just as in the Paris Tallage Roll, we find such names as Bonami lenglois, Jovin lenglois, Mosse lenglois, and Rose lenglishe (*Revue des Études juives*, No. 1; J. Jacobs, *London Jewry*, p. 51).

⁸ On the meaning of *קדוש* see *Trans. J. H. S. E.*, v. 190.

⁹ In *Notes and Queries*, 9th Series, xii. 125, Mr. M. D. Davis maintains that the word “Lumbard” was applied to many Jews as meaning a “money lender.”



SEALS FROM WESTMINSTER

Bonefay, son of Breton (ברטין); Aaron de Hibernia, the son of Benjamin of Colchester; and others who had settled in England or were visitors to our shores.

Next we may notice those who were named, or nicknamed, from some peculiarity in their appearance—such as Moses “without arms” (*sine brachiis*); Deudone “turn-toes” (*cum pedibus tortis*); Moses “the nosey” (*cum naso*); Manasses “the big” (*le Gros, grassus*); Vives “the tall” (*Longus*); Isaac “the short,” or “the little” (*le Petit, Parvus*); Joseph “the black” (השחור); Sampson “the pale” (הלבן); Samuel “the red” (*Ruffus*); Moses “the dark” (*le Brun*); Menahem “the florid” (הורדמסי); Isaac the Blind (l’aveugle); Elias “the one-handed”; Manasser “the jolly” (*le Enveyse*); and so on.

Others were known by the name of their profession; such, for instance, were R. Solomon the physician or “the Leech,” the son of R. Isaac the physician (ר' שלמה רופא ב' ר'); Ysaac *medicus*; Vives *Scriptor*, or *Le Scrivenur*; Menahem the scribe (הסופר); Jacob the Clerk (*Clericus*); John le Clerk. This last was by trade a goldsmith (*aurifaber*); and so was Leo *aurifaber*, but we can see how the latter designation might pass into a surname.

Other descriptive terms which tended to become patronymics are exemplified in the following names:—Aaron *le Riche* and Benedict *le Riche*; Eleazar *Senior*, or elder (הזקן); Isaac *Senex*, and Isaac *Juvenis*, of Cambridge; Jacob *le Viel* (ליילא); &c.

The character of the man is stereotyped in such names as Peitevin *le Fort* and Joseph *the Pious* (ה' ר' יסף חסיד).

The practice sometimes prevailed in mediæval times, as in the days of the patriarchs, and as in modern times, of adopting the names¹ of animals—witness the frequent Leo and Ursell, and note the well-known family of the Mutuns, and Abraham le Chat (or Kat), and Josceus Pigge, and perhaps Samuel Reynard.

¹ See also Mr. Lucien Wolf's remarks on family seals in the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, ii. p. 154.

Some of the above, of course, were nicknames;¹ as perhaps were the Yom-tobs and others.

Certain names have a similar termination, such as those ending in *ard*.² We read, for instance, of Elias Baggard, Moses Bobelard, Merinus Chalbard, Isaac Cochard, Isaac Pickard, and others. These, perhaps, are patronymics like such modern names as Willard, &c.

A chapter has already been devoted to the names of offices and posts of honour, as well as to tribal names, which had passed or were passing into family names.

There remains,³ however, a long list of surnames which the present writer is unable to classify:—Russell, Bateman, Bigelin, Crespin, Copin, Bundy, Poteman, Pearce, Furmentin, and many others. As Camden remarked, "To find out the true originall of surnames is full of difficulty."

This chapter is limited to the consideration of family names and patronymics; otherwise attention might be drawn to the interesting first names given to, or adopted by, the Jews of the period with which we have been dealing. Exceptionally curious and picturesque were some of the names of the Jewesses:—Glorietta, Comitissa, Floria, Saphira, Ivetta, Preciosa, Brunetta, Regina, Reyne, Pya, Belia, Belleassez, Bessa, Bona, Chera, Pasturella, Duce, Mirabilia, Licorice, &c. It will be noticed, as is to be expected, that many of these names are Norman-French. And so were many of the masculine names:—Bonenfant, Bonfoy, Bonevie, Bonamy, Bonesant, Bonechose, Deulecresse, Cresse, Deudone, Deuleben, Deulesant, Deulegard, &c. Some of these were perhaps used as surnames. Speaking of the name *Deulecresse*,⁴ an old writer says, "there was a

¹ The commercial character of the English Jews and the comparative absence of learned writers, or, at any rate, the official character of the British records, may account for the absence of such *Titular Abbreviations* as are frequently met with in Continental writings.

² See *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, v. 509 and vi. 193.

³ See p. 371 of the valuable *Appendix ix.*, at the end of Mr. Joseph Jacobs's *The Jews of Angevin England*. The names of Jews in the twelfth century are there elaborately dealt with.

⁴ A translation of *הוּ בְּלִיָּהוּ* *hu* being taken as a pronoun.

certain Jew, the son of Moses of Wallingford, 'the Lord increase him' by name (for the Jews use prayers in this way instead of proper names"—"Judæus quidam, Deus-eum-crescat vocabulo (sic enim orationibus, loco propriorum nominum utuntur Judæi), filius Moysi de Walingeford."

CHAPTER X

JEWISH DOUBLE NAMES

CLOSELY connected with the subject of surnames is the curious use by the Jews of *double names*—the sacred name for religious or home purposes (*Shem Hakkodesh*), and the secular name (*Kinnui*) for worldly intercourse.

It will be remembered that, in Old Testament times, names were sometimes changed under foreign influences—as in the case of Joseph (Gen. xli. 45); of Eliakim, “whom the king of Egypt made king in the room of Josiah his father, and turned his name to Jehoiakim (וַיִּסֶב אֶת־שְׁמוֹ יְהוֹיָקִים)”; of Mattaniah, whose name the king of Babylon changed to Zedekiah; of Daniel and the Three Children, of whom we read וַיִּשֶׂם לָהֶם שֵׁר הַסְרִיסִים שְׁמוֹת.¹

The double name to be dealt with in this chapter was not, however, generally thrust upon the bearer, but chosen by him. Indeed, a fine was sometimes paid for permission to assume another name. We read, for instance, in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*,² under date 1273: “Be it had in remembrance, that Abraham Motun gives the King 1 bezant that his cognomen be changed.”

What name Abraham assumed, the record does not say; and, indeed, as we have already seen, the same individual, seven years later,³ appears under the same name—Abraham Mutun—as the “Jew” of Elias, the son of Master Elias. But a member of the same family—Jacob, son of Samuel Mutun—assumed the name of Bonevie, though in a deed⁴

¹ Zunz traces the history of such double names, which became more frequent in the Seleucidæan period (*Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 15).

² Rigg, vol. ii. p. 19.

³ *Patent Rolls*, 1280, p. 364.

⁴ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 355.

(printed by Mr. M. D. Davis) he signs his *Shem Hakkodesh*, עקב ב'הר' שמואל.

We proceed to give instances of these double names, showing how frequent was the practice of using them:—

Josce Yehiel, of Lincoln, had two sons,¹ Yekuthiel and Benjamin. The former of these assumed the name of *Bonefy*, and signed a deed בנפי בן יטי; while the latter was known as *Bonami* the son of Josce. This Benjamin, it may be noted, was betrothed to Judith, daughter of the notorious Belle-assez, whose father was the well-known Master Benedict of Lincoln, son of the celebrated Master Moses of London.

Another Benedict² of Lincoln, who was popularly called "le Riche," had as his synagogue name Elias; while his father Isaac (so named among his co-religionists) was known to his English debtors as Ursell, so that this Benedict of Lincoln was variously called Benedict le Riche, Benedict the son of Isaac, Elias ben Isaac, and Elias the son of Ursell.

Another family³—whose dwelling-place was at Norwich—illustrates this multiplicity of names. Solomon, the father, changed his name to Mordecai (ר' שלמה אשר הוסב), but he was also recognised among his contemporaries as Deulecresse (ר' שלמה המכונה דלקרייש). One of his sons was called Eliezer in his family, but he was known as Diaia to outsiders. This Eliezer, or Diaia, had a daughter, whose synagogue name is not recorded, but who was called in Norman-French *Belle-assez*, and in English *Svetecot*. This is how she is named in a Norwich deed: בלשה בת ר' אלעזר: המכונה שנימוט בת דאיי. Eliezer or Diaia, again, had a brother-in-law, Yehiel, the son of Isaac, who changed his name to Elias (יהואל ב'ר' יצחק אשר הוסב שמו אליהו).

Another family,⁴ also settled at Norwich, but connected

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 50, 298, &c.

² M. D. Davis, "Mediæval Jews of Lincoln." *Archæological Journal*, xxxviii. p. 182.

³ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, pp. 150, 179, 180, &c.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

with York, was represented by Isaac (otherwise Benedict), son of Judah (otherwise Ursell), who is described in one of Mr. Davis's *Shetaroth* as ר' יצחק ב'ר' יהודה המכונה בנדיט בן אורשל מאורניק, where the word *Everwyk* stands for the city of York.

Another prominent Norwich Jew, whose name appears in certain Latin deeds as Ursell le Eveske,¹ was known in the synagogue and in his family as Oshaya ben Isaac. He is described in a deed, dated 1281, as ראשעיא ב'ר' יצחק המכונה אורשל; but his signature to this and other documents reads: אורשל ב'ר' יצחק.

An earlier and very interesting Norwich *Shetar*,² written in the first year of the thirteenth century, informs us that the Hebrew name of the well-known Jurnet (who had married a Christian heiress) was R. Jacob ben Moses, and that the daughter of the marriage was known both as Margaret and as Miriam.

A deed,³ dated at Norwich in 1247, and preserved at Westminster, records a curious agreement entered into by Hyam, otherwise Meir, son of Sampson the Levite (ר' חיים) (הנקרא מאיר ב'החדר' שמשון הלוי).

Another, Hagin, the son of Isaac, away in the west of England, called himself⁴ "Benedict Bateman," while in a Canterbury deed we read of one Yom-tob, son of another Isaac, alias⁵ "Cresse ben Jocenus" (ר' יום טוב ב'ר' יצחק) (המכונה קריצא בן יצנוא).

In this last-mentioned document we find that Samuel, son of Aaron of Lincoln, was known either as Molkin or Samuel Molkin (ר' שמואל ב'ר' אהרן המכונה מולקין; ר' שמואל) (מולקין).

¹ Davis, *Shetaroth*, pp. 172-6, 211-12. It may be noted that in Blomfield's *History of Norfolk* (iii. p. 46) there is an allusion to Ursell, son of Isaac, who is called by that writer "the Bishop of the Jews in Norwich."

² British Museum, *Harl. Ch.*, 43a, 54; Jacobs, *Jews in Angevin England*, pp. 215-16; M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, pp. 213-14.

³ M. D. Davis, *u.s.*, p. 22.

⁴ *Plea Rolls of Jews*, 36 & 37 Hen. III., 11 m. 3 d.: "qui se vocari facit Ben. Bateman."

⁵ M. D. Davis, *u.s.*, p. 323.

Similarly in German documents¹ we read of R. Pessach, called Bonfant (רפסח המכונה בונפנט); R. Yehiel, *genannt* Freude, &c.

The list of double names might be largely increased; it will suffice to add that sometimes (as has been remarked under the more definite chapter on *surnames*) Jews were known by the names of the city where they dwelt. For instance, in many Norwich deeds, Isaac, son of Abraham, is called² Isaac of Warwick "הר' יצחק ב'הר' אברהם המכונה הר'" (יצחק מנרניק). This influential financier sometimes signed himself יצחק ב'הר' אברהם, and sometimes יצחק מנרניק. Again, Joce, the son of Benedict of Lincoln, in a Hebrew quitclaim³ attached to a Latin deed, signs himself "Joce of Nottingham" (יוסי דנוטינהם).

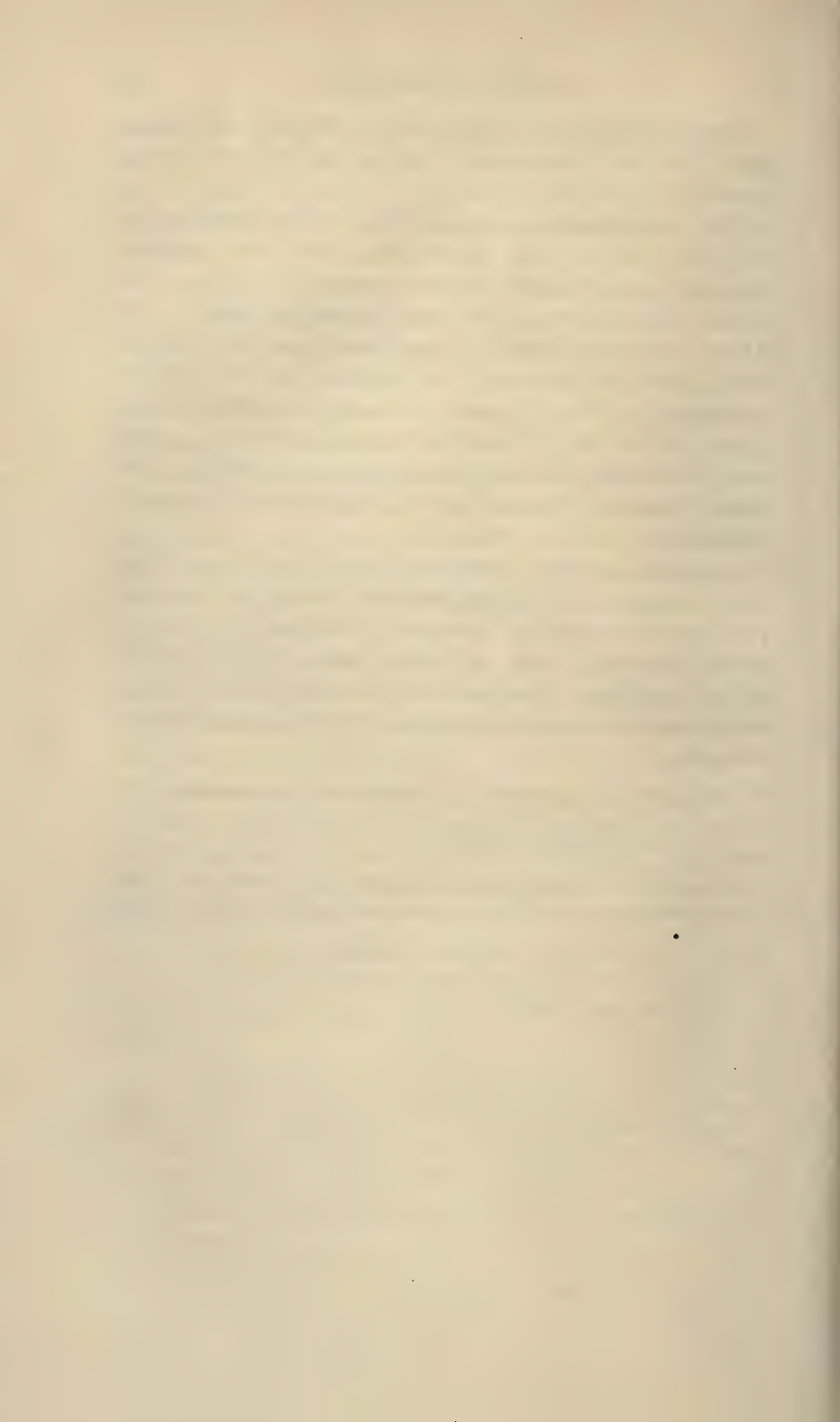
It will be noticed in these numerous illustrations of the double names by which the Jews were known to their own people and to outsiders, how many instances are given of those who were "sons of Isaac," and of other familiar Scriptural names. We cannot wonder that their English neighbours required some more distinctive appellations or surnames.⁴

¹ Salfeld, *Das Martyrologium des Nürnberger Memorbuches*, pp. 225, 227.

² M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, Index.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 285-6.

⁴ Some of the changes of name discussed in this chapter may be due to the synagogue custom of changing the name in case of serious sickness.



PART II
ON TALLIES

CHAPTER I

ON TALLIES IN GENERAL

"THOU hast most traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm, in erecting a grammar-school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no other books but the score and *the tally*, thou hast caused printing to be used."

Those words, which Shakespeare¹ puts into the mouth of Jack Cade, when addressing the unfortunate Lord Saye and Sele, are here quoted as an illustration of the antiquity and universality of the method of calculation by tallies—to an account of which this section is devoted.

The system obtained in our land for seven or eight centuries. Not only was it popular, as the quotation suggests, among the simple and the unlettered, but it was in official use in the King's Court of Exchequer. Even now, in some out-of-the-way places, small tradesmen note their transactions on rough tallies; while not a few customs and phrases still commemorate this primitive practice in financial records. The notched "wands" of Cornish folk are an instance, and so are the "nick-sticks" in other districts. The term "notches," applied by yokels and by school-boys to "runs" in cricket, has probably a similar origin.

Literary illustrations of this sort of reckoning might be quoted. Prior² writes:—

"Have you not seen a baker's maid
Between two equal panniers swayed,
Her tallies useless lie and idle,
If placed exactly in the middle," &c.

Sir Walter Scott's well-known description in *The*

¹ *2 Henry VI.*, Act iv., scene 7.

² *Alma*, Canto II. 214-221.

Antiquary, of the gathering of gossips in the back-parlour of the postmaster's house at Fairport will also be remembered. Mrs. Shortcake, the baker's wife, says that Jonathan Oldbuck of Monkbarns "was in an unco kippage when we sent him a book instead o' the *nick-sticks*, whilk, he said, were the true ancient way o' counting between tradesmen and customers. And sae they are, nae doubt," the lady adds. And Sir Walter confirms her statement in one of those curious notes¹ which he loved to append to his celebrated novels.

But we must leave the popular, and turn to the official use of tallies.

The following is a quotation from a twelfth century *Pipe Roll*:²—

"The Sheriff [of Oxford] renders count of 3 marks of Regina the Jewess for the debt which Walter of Westbury owed her, and 1 mark of the same Jewess for the debt which Ralph of Clinton, and William, son of Richard, owed her. He paid into the Treasury, in *two tallies*, and is quit (in *Thesauro liberavit* in ij Taliis, et q. e.)."

Here we are introduced to a system of payment which for centuries prevailed in the Court of Exchequer. The system is thus described by an old writer:³ "The Tally Court takes its name from the Norman-French word *tailler*, to cut; a tally being a piece of wood wrote upon on both sides, containing an acquittance for money received, which being cloven asunder by the deputy chamberlains, one part, called 'the stock,' is delivered to the person who pays or lends money to the Government, and the other part, called the 'counterstock' or 'counterfoil,' remains in the office, to be kept till called for, and joined with the stock. This method of striking tallies is very ancient, and has been found by long experience to be the very best way of preventing frauds⁴ that ever was invented, for it is morally

¹ *The Antiquary*, note (2).

² 29 Henry II., quoted in Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, i. pp. 232-3.

³ Dr. R. Beatson, quoted in *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vol. iv. p. 434.

⁴ Yet it may be pointed out that one William Boxhore was imprisoned for falsifying a tally (Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, ii. p. 260).

impossible so to counterfeit a tally but upon rejoining it with the counterfoil, the intended fraud will be obvious to any one either in the notches or the cleaving, in the length or in the breadth, in the natural growth, or in the shape of the counterfoil."

A somewhat more technical description may be quoted from Stubbs's *Constitutional History*:¹ "The financial reports were made to the Barons of the Exchequer by the Sheriffs of the counties. At Easter and Michaelmas each of these magistrates produced his own accounts, and paid into the Exchequer such an instalment or *proffer* as he could afford, retaining in hand sufficient money for current expenses. In token of receipt a tally was made; a long piece of wood in which a number of notches were cut, marking the pounds, shillings, and pence received; this stick was then split down the middle, each half contained exactly the same number of notches, and no alteration could of course be made without certain detection. At the Michaelmas audit these tallies were produced, and the remainder of the accounts made up. If the Sheriff was able to acquit himself entirely, he began the new year without arrears; if not, a running account was kept by the same primitive method."

From the celebrated *Dialogus de Scaccario*,² we learn the official value of the indentures made in the tallies. The largest notch represented £1000; the next was equivalent to £100; then a score; a different shaped notch stood for £1, another for 10s., and another for 1s.; a stroke represented 1d., a small hole or point $\frac{1}{2}$ d. These were the notches made by the *talliator* or cutter of the tallies; while the *Scriptor talliarum*, or writer of the tallies, wrote upon the sides of the wood the corresponding values, in pounds sterling or smaller sums, M, C, xx, &c., down to *qr.* for a farthing.

Very varied sums of money might thus be represented,

¹ 6th edition, pp. 409, 410; see also the note on *telea*, *tallia*, *taleola*, in the same author's *Select Charters*, p. 550.

² Madox, *History of the Exchequer* (1769), ii. p. 366.

from, in one instance, a million pounds indentured upon some 40 tallies, to, in another instance, the insignificant sum of a single farthing, for which a tally was struck.

This method of payment is amusingly alluded to in Pepys's *Diary*, where, under date 12th May 1665, that vivacious writer says: "By water to the Exchequer, and there did strike my tallies for 17,500*l*." Again, a week later, he says: "To the Exchequer and there got my tallys for 17,500*l*, the first payment I ever had out of the Exchequer." "Away home" (he adds), "with my tallys in a coach, fearful every moment of having one of them fall out, or snatched from me."

Pepys's anxiety arose from the nature of the tallies. These wooden vouchers, later on, indeed, became of considerable length; but generally they were about a foot or eight inches long, half-an-inch in breadth, and a quarter-of-an-inch in thickness. They were made of elm-wood, box, or hazel, or such woods as the willow,¹ the alder, the poplar, the siler, and the privet, which (says Pliny²) "are most useful in making tallies (*tesseris utilissima*)."

The wood having been put into a vice was roughly squared, and treated by various officials—the cutter of the notches, the writer of the accounts, the splitter of the wood, &c.

The foils, or counterparts, were retained in the offices of the Exchequer, in the Houses of Parliament, or in the Chapel of the Pyx.

As these tallies were, as stated above, officially used in England from the days of the Norman dynasty down nearly to the end of the eighteenth century, there was a vast accumulation of the counterfoils, when an Act³ of Parliament was passed in 1783, abolishing the use of them, and enabling paper or parchment certificates to be used in their stead.

¹ See an interesting *Printed Explanation* about two Exchequer tallies made of willow wood, 1785 and 1822, preserved in Kew Gardens Museum, and referred to in *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vol. iv. p. 492.

² *Hist. Nat.*, lib. xiv., c. xxxi.

³ 23 Geo. III., c. 82.

These "indented cheque receipts" were not, however, to come into use until after the death or surrender of certain office-holders—the two chamberlains, the tally-cutter, and the usher of the Exchequer. Now pensioners are proverbially long-lived, and these gentlemen were no exception to the rule. Indeed, it was not till some forty-three years later that the vacancies occurred. To be exact, the old wooden tally was finally disused after 10th October 1826.

Some eight years later still, on 22nd May 1834, an Act¹ of Parliament ordered the destruction of the huge stores of these faggot-like bundles of tallies; and the nation was dramatically reminded of the fact, when the disastrous fire, which, on October 16th of that year, destroyed the old Houses of Parliament, was attributed to the overheating of the flues by the carrying out of this order.

The *Times* newspaper, about a fortnight later,² had an elaborate article, written, it is said, by William Cobbett, giving a history of the tallies which had played so prominent a part in public events. The account is written with curious vivacity, as may be gathered from the fact that the author ends by vigorously shouting "*Tally-ho!*"

¹ 4 & 5 William IV., c. 15.

² *The Times*, Nov. 1, 1834.

CHAPTER II

FOUR JEWISH TALLIES

It was mentioned in the preceding chapter that a stock of old tallies was preserved in the celebrated Pyx Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Many of these are records of Jewish transactions in the thirteenth century, and a number of them were photographed by Sir Benjamin Stone, M.P., who exhibited them at a lecture¹ delivered before our Society in the year 1900.

The tallies referred to were subsequently removed from the Pyx Chapel to the office of the Board of Works. Although, as the present writer can testify, the officials of that Department are most courteous, it is well that these interesting historical relics have now been handed over to the Public Record Office.

The photographs of four of the tallies mentioned above are here, by permission, reproduced. Each tally is twice represented, showing first a Latin inscription on the smooth broadside, and, secondly, the same words (or, at any rate, the same name) in Hebrew on the notched side.

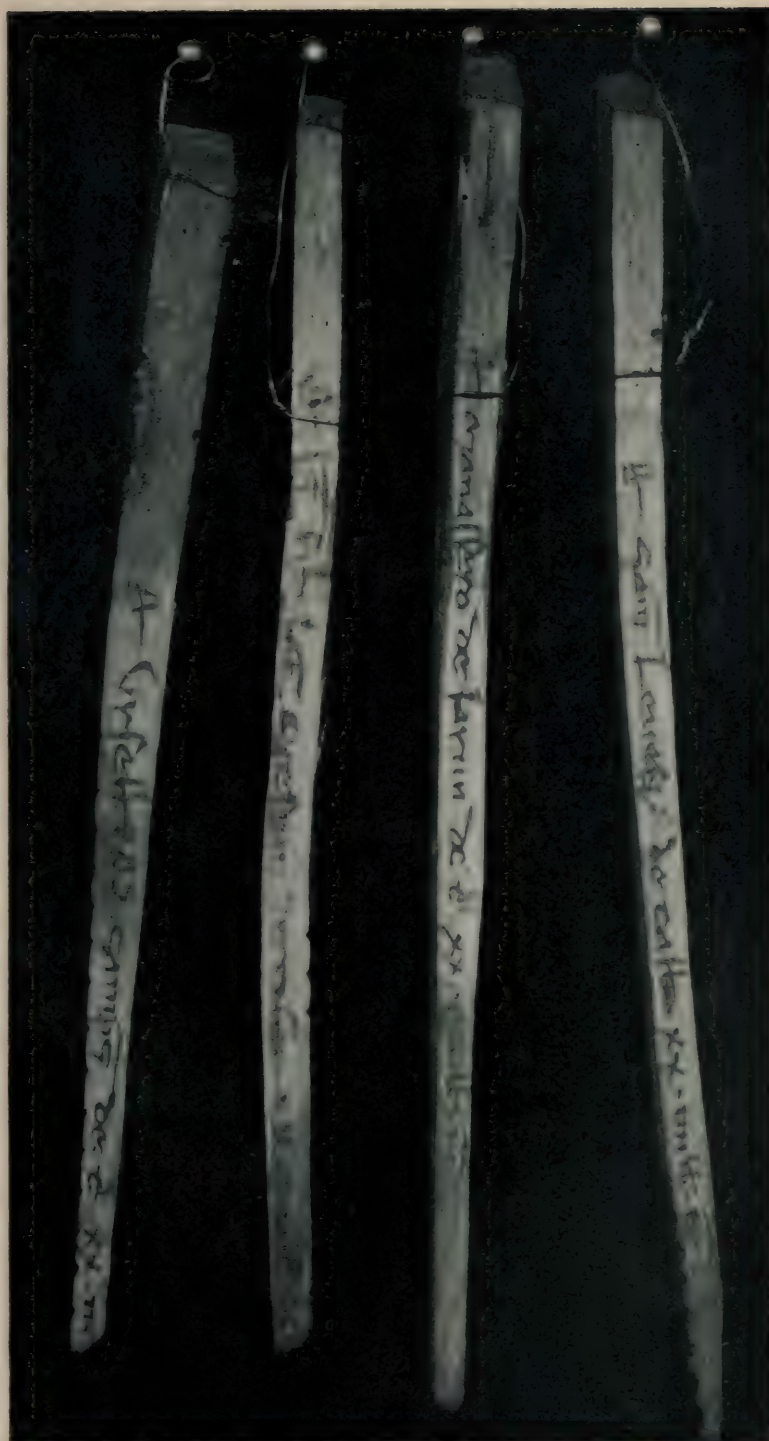
We proceed to quote these inscriptions, and to make certain comments thereupon.

1. (a) Urseth fl^s simp^s de t.^s xx. m.
(b) אורשיל בן שונשן מ' [כ'] אלף
2. (a) Is. Filio (?) Lē (?) Crespīn de tafl. xx. m̄.
(b) יצחק חתני קרישפין
מתנת כ' אלפים
3. (a) Manassero de Jarun de t.^s xx. miff. m̄.
(b) מנשיר די ירום
4. (a) Sam Leuesq de tafl. xx. miff. m̄.
(b) שמואל בהן

¹ *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. iv. p. viii.



TALLIES: (a) HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS



TALLIES: (b) LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Before commenting separately on these vouchers, it may be remarked that they all refer to the same financial transaction¹—a tallage of 20,000 marks—*de tallagio xx millia marcarum*—מתנת כ' אלפים. This tallage was levied upon the Jews in the year 1241, and an account of the proceedings connected with its imposition will be given in the next chapter. We turn now to the Jews named in these four tallies.

1. The Ursell, son of Simpson, here mentioned may be identical with the Jew of that name who appears two or three times² in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, under date 1273, sometimes simply as on this tally, and sometimes as Ursell, son of Sampson Levy of Lincoln. But it should be added that there is another tally among those relating to this tallage, inscribed "Ursell Levy." One of that name³ figures as a representative Jew in the city of Lincoln.

2. The inscription on the second tally is difficult to read. The Hebrew is apparently צחק חתני קרשפין, where the suffix in the second word is peculiar. Perhaps the reading should be חתן. The Latin looks like *Iñ. Filio Lē Crespín*, which may imply some dog-Latin expression for "son-in-law," or may be Isaac, son of Le Crespín. Isaac, son of Jacob Crespín, frequently figures in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*.⁴ But Crespín was a common surname among the pre-Expulsion Israelites.

3. The name Manasser de Jarun (or Jarum) reminds us how far north the Jews settled; for Jarum—now called *Yarm*⁵—was a thriving port on the Durham side of the river Tees. Madox⁶ quotes a writ, "*De Lanis in Portu de Jarum super These arrestandis*." The Hebrew מנשר has arisen from the spelling Manasser.

4. The name on the fourth tally, שמואל כהן in the Hebrew, Samuel Leveske in the Latin, is interesting, showing, as Mr.

¹ See p. 85, 150.

² Rigg, vol. ii., Index.

³ M. D. Davis, *Shetaroth*, p. 304.

⁴ Rigg, vol. i., Index.

⁵ Yarm, by Eggescliff.

⁶ *History of the Exchequer*, vol. i. p. 785.

Israel Abrahams pointed out¹ at the time of Sir Benjamin Stone's first discovery of the tallies, that "the title *Episcopus*, applied to several Jews in the pre-Expulsion period, is sometimes the equivalent of the Hebrew *Cohen*." The present writer has elsewhere devoted a chapter to the consideration of this question. The accountant of this tally was perhaps the Samuel le Eveske of York, who is prominently mentioned² in the Jewish *Plea Rolls*.

¹ *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. iv. p. viii.

² Rigg, vol. i. pp. 116, &c.

CHAPTER III

A JEWISH "PARLIAMENT"

THIS chapter purposes to give an account of a tallage imposed upon the Jews in the middle of the thirteenth century. It will illustrate the ordinary methods adopted in such cases, but it will also chronicle special circumstances which make this instance of considerable historical interest.

In the fourth decade of that century King Henry III. had levied two or three heavy taxations upon his Israelitish subjects; but he was, as usual, in want of money, and in 1240 he determined to raise a still larger sum from them.

Accordingly he proceeded to make inquiries as to the state of the Jewish finances. Brother Geoffrey,¹ the King's almoner, made inquest as to their goods and chattels, and enrolled an official record of their property. The King also, in 1240, appointed various commissioners to proceed to the different counties, and with the aid of the sheriffs to investigate the state of the property and debts of the Jews, inspecting the chests in bailiwicks where they were settled, and questioning the chirographers.

For instance,² on July 1st of that year, as we learn from the *Close Rolls*, the King sent, as Commissioners to Cambridge, Jeremiah of Caxton and William Hardel ad inquirendum de catallis et debitis Judæorum per totam ballivam. They were to examine the chests (*ad archas Judæorum perscrutandas*), and to enrol the names of all Jews and Jewesses in the borough of twelve years and upwards, and especially of Jewesses, whether widows or single.

¹ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, pp. xxvii, 10, 13, 14.

² *Close Rolls*, 24 Hen. III., m. 9. d.; *Hare MS.*, I. xxiv. in University Registry, Cambridge.

As a result of these investigations, writs were issued at the beginning of the next year to most of the sheriffs throughout the land, summoning six of the richest Jews out of all the counties and towns wherein the Jews resided to come to treat with the King at Worcester. The following is a copy of the writ¹ addressed to the Sheriff of Northampton :—

“ Rex Vic. Northampt. salutem. Præcipimus tibi, quod sicut teipsum et omnia tua diligis, et sicut vis quod ad te gravissime non capiamus, venire facias coram nobis apud Wigorn die dominica prima ante Cineres, sex de ditioribus et potentioribus Judæis nostris Northampt. et de singulis villis comitatus tui, in quibus Judæi maneat, vel duos Judæos, secundum numerum eorum : ad tractandum nobiscum, tam de nostra quam sua utilitate. Sciturus quod nisi illuc ad terminum præfatum venerint, ita manum nostram tam erga corpus quam catalla tua aggravabimus, quod tuo perpetuo te sentires non mediocriter prægravari. Teste Rege apud Merleberg, 24 die Jan. [1241].”

A score of similar writs were addressed to the sheriffs of other counties.

Accordingly, on Quinquagesima Sunday, in the year 1241. there gathered at Worcester over one hundred of the principal Jews then residing in England.

“ I don't doubt [says Tovey²] but most readers have heard of the *Parliament de la Band* in Edward the Second's time, when the Barons came armed against the two Spencers, with coloured ribbands on their sleeves by way of distinction.

“ And *Parliamentum Indoctorum* : held at Coventry the 6th of H. 4, whereunto no lawyer, by special præcept to the Sheriff, was suffered to be returned.

“ Likewise *Parliamentum Diabolicum* : in the 38 of H. 6, so called from the infamous attainder of Edward, Earl of March, with divers of the nobility.

“ But I question whether very many are acquainted with *Parliamentum Judaicum*. Yet such a one was now held (being the 25th of H. 3), as properly deserves that title.”

¹ *Close Rolls*, 25 Hen., dors. 9 ; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. pp. 43-4.

² *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 109, 110.

To this so-called Parliament were summoned, as may be gathered from the writ quoted above, "six of the richest Jews from the chief towns, or two only from such places where there were but few, to treat with him as well concerning his own as their benefit ; and threatening the sheriffs that, if they failed, he would so terribly handle them that they should remember it as long as they lived."

Whatever hopes were raised in the minds of the Jewish delegates by the sentence, "*ad tractandum nobiscum, tam de nostra quam sua utilitate*," was soon dispelled, for it was immediately made quite evident to them that all that the King and his officials had to say was, "It's your money we want."

And, indeed, not only was there laid upon them a heavy tallage of 20,000 marks, half to be paid at the ensuing Midsummer Day and half at Michaelmas, but the Jews were forced to be themselves the assessors and the collectors thereof, and to levy it by the most rigorous distresses from their fellow Jews together with the sheriffs and by the terms prescribed, under pain of forfeiting their goods and estates, and the greatest penalties, to the terror of all others.

The names¹ of these collectors and assessors are given in the *Close Rolls*, in the subsequent warrants for their appointment *de tallagio colligendo*, and there can scarcely be a doubt that the Jews thus nominated were those who had been summoned to the Worcester Parliament. Prynne gives more than a hundred of these names ; but Tovey says²: "As they make but indifferent musick, I shan't repeat 'em." The present writer, however, begs to copy them from the *Close Rolls*,³ as well because of the importance of these representative Jews, as because of the desirability of giving correctly this long list of pre-Expulsion Israelites. The author of the *Short Demurrer* was perhaps contemptuous as to the names he hurriedly copied ; he certainly was very careless in transcribing them, so that, as he gives them, names—which are often

¹ Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 45-47.

² *Anglia Judaica*, p. 112.

³ *Close Rolls*, 25 Hen. III., dors. 20.

picturesque and graphic—form, it must be admitted, but “indifferent musick.”

Names of the Jews appointed to levy the Tallage.

[It is not purposed to point out the many inaccuracies in the list as given by Prynn. The three names here *daggered* are printed in the *Short Demurrer* as *Burge*, *Solitoſter*, and *Duelcuſce* !]

London.

Benedictus Crespin.
Jacobus Crespin.
Aaron *fil.* Abraham.
Aaron Blund.
Elias le Eveske.
Leo Blund.

Ebor.

Aaron *fil.* Jocei.
Leo le Eveske.
Joseus *nepos* Aaron.
Joseus de Kent.
Ursell *fil.* Sampson.
Benedictus *nepos* Aaron.

Linc.

Leo *fil.* Salomon.
Abraham *fil.* Salomon.
Judas de Fraunceys.
Joceus de Bungeye.†
Abraham de Colecester.†
Deulecresse † *fil.* Elie.

Cantuar.

Salom. *fil.* Joce.
Magr. Aaron Bonamy.
Copinus *fil.* Milkane.
Mosse *fil.* Sampson.
Abraham *fil.* Leonis.

Winton.

Elias *fil.* Chere.
Deulegraund.

Lumbard Senex.

Manasser *fil.* Ursell.
Dyaye de Walingford.
Deudone *fil.* Ursell.

Stamford.

Jacob *gener.* Pictav[in].
Jacob *fil.* Elye.
Meir *fil.* David.
Samuel *fil.* Koc.
Deulesaut *fil.* Koc.
Aaron *gener.* Pictavin.

Norham.

Elias de Pontefract.
Isaac Pikechen.
Sampson *fil.* Deulesaut.
Sampson *fil.* Sampson.
Deudone *fil.* Vives.
Pecr. *fil.* Sam. de Ivelcester.

Bedeford.

Manser *fil.* Benedicti.
Abraham *fil.* Benedicti.
Ursel *fil.* Isaac Bonenfant.

Cantebrig.

Isaac *fil.* Samuel.
Jacob *fil.* Deulesaut.
Aaron *fil.* Isaac Blund.
Josce de Wilton.
Dyaye *fil.* Magistri.
Levi *fil.* Salomon.

Norwic.

Samuel *fil.* Isaac.
 Isaac de Warewic.
 Aaron Henne.
 Jurninus *fil.* Jacobi.
 Deulecrese *fil.* Dyaye
 Manecroft.
 Diaie de Rising.

Warewick.

Benedictus de Kant.
 Elias *fil.* Abrah.
 Benedictus de Evesham.
 Leun *fil.* Deule Beneye.
 Aungevin (?) de Warewik.
 Pectevin (?) *fil.* Mossi.

Wigorn.

Hake Isaac *gener.* Hake.
 Hake Mosse *fil.* Deule Beneye.
 Abrah. *fil.* Abraham.
 Isaac *gener.* Sanne.
 Abraham *fil.* Jude.

Bristol.

Lumbard.
 Bonefei de Bristol.
 Salom de Ivelcester.
 Isaac *fil.* Jacob.
 Mile le Eveske.
 Isaac de Bath.

Colecester.

Aaron de Colecester.
 Ursell de Colecester.
 Isaac *fil.* Benedicti.
 Jacob *fil.* Vives.

Nottingham.

David Lumbard.
 Deudone *fil.* Deule Cresse.

Sampson Levi.
 Benedictus de (?) Pinkeneye.

Exon.

Jacob de Exon.
 Bonenfant *fil.* Jude.
 Joce *fil.* Abraham.
 Deule Cresse le Eveske.

Dorset.

Salomon de Dorcester.
 Benedictus *fil.* Vinam (?)

Wilts.

Salomon *fil.* Josse.
 Isaac de Merleb'.
 Salom. de Merleb'.
 Abraham Battecocke.
 Isaac *fil.* Josse.

Oxon.

David de Linc.
 Bonami *fil.* Copin.
 Copin *fil.* Bonefei.
 Mosse *fil.* Diaie.
 Vives *fil.* Copin.
 Samuel *fil.* le Fraunceys.

Glouc[ester.]

Bonenfaund *fil.* Elye.
 Garsie *gener.* Belie.
 Isaac *fil.* Mosse de Paris.
 Elias *fil.* Bonenfaund.
 Vives *fil.* Bonenfaund.
 Elias *fil.* Isaac.

Hereford.

Ursell. *fil.* Haṁ.
 Leo *fil.* Haṁ.
 Mosse *fil.* Haṁ.
 Jacob. *fil.* Jacobi.
 Manasser Leveske.
 Jacob le Mester.

A comparison of these names with those occurring in the *Plea Rolls of the Jewish Court of Exchequer*,¹ in the *Norwich Day Book*,² in the *Patent, Close, and other Rolls*, will show that these representatives were the most prominent Jews of the period. Almost every name here given may be found chronicled—often frequently—in contemporary records.

We return to the assembly at Worcester on Quinquagesima Sunday, in the year 1241, when these delegates were assembled, and when they were compelled to agree to the tallage of 20,000 marks, to be collected in two instalments by the end respectively of the next two quarters of the year.

We learn from the *Patent Rolls* that on March 7th the following writ was issued by the King, appointing the under-named English officials as chief assessors in the levying of the tallage :—

“ W. de Haverhull, W. de Sancto Edmundo, Petrus Grimbaud assignati sunt cum Jeremia de Kaxton, Petro Schaceport et W. Hardel ad tallagium xx milium marcarum assidendum super Judeos Anglie. Teste Rege apud Windsore ut supra (i.e. vij die Mar.).”

A little later were issued warrants—*de tallagio Judeorum colligendo*—addressed to the Jews who were appointed as collectors, these being doubtless the same who had visited Worcester as delegates. The following is a specimen warrant³ :—

“ Rex Ursello fil. Ham[onis], Leoni fil. Ham., Mosse fil. Ham., Jacobo fil. Jacobi, Mansero leveske, Jacobo de Mester, Judeis Hereford, Salutem. Sciatis quod constituimus vos ballivos nostros una cum Vicecomiti nostro Hereford cui idem mandavimus, ad distringend. omnes Judæos de balliva vestra ad solvendum nobis tallagium de parte quæ vos et illos contingit de hoc ultimo tallagio nostro, viginti millia

¹ So ably edited by Mr. J. M. Rigg.

² *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. v. 243–275 (Rev. S. Levy).

³ *Close Rolls*, 25 Hen. III., dors. 20; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. pp. 44–5.

marcarum. Et ideo vobis firmiter præcipimus, quod sicut corpora vestra, uxorum et puerorum vestrorum, et omnia catalla tua diligitis, talem distictionem faciatis quod prædictum tallagium nostrum terminis statutis tam a vobis quam ab aliis de balliva vestra, per manum ejusdem Vicecomitis nostri nobis ad Scaccarium nostrum plenius solvatur secundum extractam quam eidem Vicecomiti nostro vobis mittimus ostendendam. Scituri quod a vobis requiremus, si quid de prædicto tallagio nostro in terminis nostris defecerit, et tam graviter contra vos manum nostram aggravabimus, quod pœna vestra erit omnibus ad terrorem. Teste Rege, apud Westm. 19 die Maii."

The writ¹ addressed to the Sheriff of Hereford read as follows:—

"Rex Vicomiti Hereford salutem. Sciatis quod potestatem dedimus prædictis Judæis ad distringend. omnes Judæos Hereford ad solvendum nobis tallagium nostrum de parte quæ universis contingit de hoc ultimo tallagio nostro viginti millia marcarum. Et ideo tibi præcipimus, quod sicut te et omnia catalla tua diligis, talem distictionem facias, una cum prædictis Judæis ad hoc deputatis, quod prædictum tallagium nostrum terminis statutis tam ab ipsis Judæis prædictis quam ab aliis de eadem villa per manum tuam nobis ad Scaccarium nostrum plene solvetur secundum extractam quam tibi mittimus prædictis Ursello et sociis tuis ostendendam. Sciturus, quod si contigerit quod de prædicto tallagio aliquid in terminis prædictis defuerit, tam ad corpus tuum quam ad catalla tua nos graviter capiemus. Teste Rege apud Westm. xij die Maii."

Similar writs were addressed to the Sheriffs of the chief counties and to prominent Jews, appointing them to collect this tallage of 20,000 marks. It is from these writs that the names of the one hundred and more representative Israelites are gathered.

It may be added that Elias Blund, a Jew of London, was substituted in the stead of Benedict Crispin, the first-named representative of that city, and that a writ very similar to

¹ Prynn, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 45.

that given above was addressed to the new collector, and that the following warrant¹ was also issued:—

“Rex Constabulario Turris London., Crespini, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod loco Benedicti Crespini quem prius assignavimus vobiscum ad districtionem faciendam circa tallagium Judeorum London. terminis statutis nobis reddend. assignavimus vobis Eliam Blundum Judæum London. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod amoto prædicto Benedicto loco ipsius ipsum Eliam Blundum admittatis.”

This heavy tallage pressed very severely upon the Jews, and there were many evidences of the difficulties experienced in raising the money. In numerous cases the unfortunate Israelites, with their wives and children, were committed to prison on account of their portions not being paid. In other instances, debts owing to the Jews were assigned to the King's Exchequer, and licences were granted exempting those making such arrangements from arrest. Examples of such treatment follow:—

“Mandatum² est W. de Havershal, Thesaurario Regis, quod omnes illos Judæos qui denarios Regi debent de tallagio Judæorum de hoc termino Sancti Johannis Baptisti proximo præterito, et etiam illos qui deberent distrinxisse ipsos Judæos ad terminum prædictum observand. venire faciat usque Turrim London. et ibidem in prisona salvo custodiri, donec Rex aliud inde præciperet. Teste Rege apud Theokesbury 1 die August.”

“Rex³ Baronibus suis de scaccario salutem. Mandamus vobis quod si Ysaac filius Elyæ Judæus Lincolniensis terminos suos observaverit de debito in quo nobis tenetur ad Scaccarium nostrum, et quamdiu dictos terminos observabit, tunc omnia bona et catalla sua ei in pace dimittatis, nullam inde facientes districtionem. Ita quod secundum quantitatem et valorem catallorum suorum quæ irrotulata sunt in rotulo quæ Jeremias de Caxton et W. Hardel de Tallagio Judæorum Linc. vobis liberaverunt Tallagium super ipsum assedi faciat. Teste Rege apud Theokesbury, 1 die Aug.”

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 25 Hen. III., dors. 9; Prynn, ii. p. 47.

² *Close Rolls*, 25 Hen. III., m. 9; Prynn, ii. p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48, 49.

"Mandatum¹ est W. de Havershall, quod scire faciat omnibus Vicecomitibus qui Judæos habeant in Balliva sua, quod omnes Judæos de balliva sua qui manuceperunt solvere nobis tallagium suum, una cum uxoribus et infantibus suis, habeant Londini a die Sancti Michaelis in unum mensem; ad respondendum nobis de arreragiis tallagii sui, et quare tallagium illud non solverunt terminis statutis sicut manuceperunt; et omnia catalla ipsorum capiant in manum Regis, et salvo custodiant donec Rex inde preceperit. Teste Rege, apud Westm. xxvi die Sept."

The following writ² to the Barons of the Exchequer acknowledges an assignment of debts belonging to the Jews of London to the King's Exchequer:—

"Rex Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem. Monstraverunt nobis Judæi nostri London. quod quendam finem fecerunt nobis cum aliis Judæis pro xx millia marcas pro tallagio nostro, unde debent solvere x millia marcarum ad quindenam Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptisti, anno regni nostri xxv, et x millia marcarum ad festivum Sancti Michaelis anno eodem, concessimus eis quod id quod receptum est ad Scaccarium vel in Garderoba per manus suas, vel per manus Christianorum, pro tertia parte catallorum suorum eis facietis allocari in primo termino x mill. marcarum. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod si prædicti Judæi London. plene nobis persolverint quod ad eos pertinet de primo termino predicto x millia marcarum usque ad summam quam per manus suas, vel Christianorum ad Scaccarium vel in Garderoba prædicta tertia parte nobis reddiderunt, pro residuo illius termini non distringatis, donec aliud a nobis habueritis mandatum. Teste Rege."

Two or three years later there are still reminders in the *Exchequer Rolls* that the officials were gathering in arrears of this celebrated 20,000 marks tallage.

The following examples may be quoted in conclusion:—

"Baronibus³ pro Slema Judæa Londoniæ. Rex eisdem Sciatis quod perdonavimus Henrico de Trublevill xiiij marcas,

¹ *Close Rolls*, 25 Hen. III., m. 9; Prynne, ii. p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, m. 8; *ibid.*, ii. p. 49.

³ *Memorand.*, 28 Hen. III., rot. 4b; Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, i. p. 224.

quas debuit Slema Judæa Londoniæ super Jocalia sua quæ ei impignoravit. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod in debito quod nobis debet in Fine xx mille marcarum, quem Judæi ultimo nobiscum fecerunt, prædictas xiiij marcas ei allocari faciatis. Breve est in forulo Marescalli."

"Cant. et Hunt. Mandatum¹ est Vicecomiti sicut alias, quod habeat coram Baronibus—omnes tallias quas ipsi Judæi habent de solutionibus factis de Scaccarium, de tallagio xx mille marcarum; ut eisdem talliis ibidem tunc allocatis, Rex scire possit evidenter, quantum et a quibus Regi debetur de tallagio prædicto."

The like writ² was sent into many other counties:—

"Wiltes. Eodem modo mandatum et Vicecomiti, quod habeat coram Baronibus—corpora Salomonii filis Joscei et trium aliorum de ditioribus Judæis de balliva sua, ad respondendum Regi de arreragiis tallagii xx mille marcarum de Communa Judæorum Wiltoniæ."

These closing quotations illustrate the statement³ that tallages were frequently paid by instalments. We find no exception to this difficulty in collecting these exactions, even in the celebrated instance of the so-called Worcester Parliament.

¹ *Memorand.*, 28 Hen. III., rot. 5a; *Madox, u.s.*, pp. 224-5.

² *Ibid.*, rot. 5b; *Madox, u.s.*, pp. 224-5.

³ Dr. C. Gross, *Anglo-Jewish Exhibition Paper*, p. 195.

PART III
THE COURSE OF ANGLO-JEWISH HISTORY

CHAPTER I

THE JEWS AND THE STATE

THE story of the Jews in England, from their invitation by William the Conqueror to their expulsion by Edward the First, has engaged the pen of the historian, the economist, and the novelist.

And a strange and pathetic story it is! For, differing from the people among whom they sojourned during these two centuries and more, in race, in religion, in habits, and partly in language, they dwelt apart.

A religious people, they could not worship with the rest of the nation; a business people, they could not join in the local guilds or the local trades; a methodical and associated people, they could take no share in the municipal life of their neighbours; a loyal people, they were forbidden to bear arms, or to exercise the rights of citizenship.

Separated from the rest of the people were they—in the synagogues where they worshipped; in the law courts where they pleaded; in the quarter of the town in which they dwelt during life; in the cemeteries where they slept in death.

They were disliked by the common people, who had no dealings with them and wondered at their strange features and stranger habits; and they were hated and envied by those who, using their wealth, became their debtors for principal and for interest.

Thus engaged in a trade which often renders men grasping and sordid, the attractiveness of the story of the Jews can nevertheless be found in their devotion to a religion to which persecution made them the more attached, and

in their family affections, to which isolation rendered them the more endeared.

It was for their wealth alone that they were invited—these Jews, whose interpretation of their Scriptures did not forbid them, as the Christians of those times were prohibited by Church and State, from usury and speculation.

The royal power, which had invited them, and which for various reasons and in various ways shielded them, used and abused that wealth increasingly during their sojourn in this kingdom. The records of the Exchequer, the Law Courts, and other public offices reveal a bewildering list of reliefs, fees, oblations, fines, percentages, escheats, amer-ciements, gifts, and tallages—which were exacted from the Jews individually or collectively, by the Norman and early Plantagenet kings. Small sums and large were carefully gathered in; three-and-fourpences and half-marks are rendered count of in the *Pipe Rolls*, and £20,000, or even £60,000, were rigorously exacted by needy monarchs.

The wealth thus taxed was obtained by the Jewish usurers from almost all classes of the people except the smaller tradesmen and the labourers. The nobles and the knights, when building castles or joining in the Crusades; the ambitious or the impoverished landowners; the builders of abbeys and monasteries; and many others, borrowed from the sons of Israel. Princes—like “John¹ the King’s son” (as we learn from the official returns of the Sheriff of Gloucester, as well as from the romantic pages of *Ivanhoe*); Bishops, like Nigellus of Ely² or Chesney of York;³ Abbots, like William of Peterborough⁴ or Hugh of St. Edmund’s;⁵ noblemen, like the Earls of Leicester⁶ and Hereford;⁷

¹ *Pipe Rolls*, 32 Hen. II.; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 267.

² *Hist. Eliens.*, p. 625.

³ Giraldus Cambr., vii. p. 36; Jacobs, p. 57.

⁴ *Gesta Henrici* (Stubbs), i. 106; Jacobs, pp. 57, 58.

⁵ Joc. of Brakelond, Jacobs, p. 59.

⁶ Madox, *Hist. of the Exchequer*, p. 170.

⁷ *Fine Rolls* (Roberts), Jacobs, p. 240.

county gentlemen, like Richard of Anesty;¹ outlaws, like Fulk Fitz-warin;² men of every rank, sought out the Jew and his money.

And this wealth was evident in other ways: the Jewries in the cities and towns where they settled were noted for the substantial residences of leading Jews. Contrasted with the wooden houses and the mud dwellings of the ordinary townsmen, the stone houses erected by the Jews excited the envy of their neighbours. Not for ostentation only, however, were these edifices erected; they were useful for security and for defence. In underground hiding-places³ or in secret chambers, they stored their hoards; and the stone walls were needed in the sieges and assaults to which allusion must now be made.

The dark strangers were not liked by the common people, and it cannot be said that gratitude for financial assistance made them acceptable to the gentry or the ecclesiastics who had resorted to them in their hour of need. The Jew, who pressed for his money and its interest, was not welcome. And the religious question was continually obtruding itself; and it is to be feared that the ecclesiastic or the monk, who had not hesitated to borrow for the building of his sacred edifices, did not use his influence to abate the persecutions that arose. The most popular accusation against the Jews was that they kidnapped a Christian youth, and, after performing certain ceremonial rites, crucified or otherwise maltreated him. These alleged martyrdoms are patently inventions, but they were accepted by the ignorant and the superstitious, and perhaps encouraged by interested parties; and in many of the large towns, time after time, violent assaults were made on the Jewish settlements, many lives were sacrificed, and plunderings and robberies committed.

On certain public occasions, too, such as the coronation

¹ Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii. xxiv.; Jacobs, p. 38.

² *Fine Rolls* (Roberts), Jacobs, p. 241.

³ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 131.

of Richard I., and the risings of the nobles in the reigns of John and Henry III., the Israelites suffered greatly at the hands both of rich and poor.

Various crimes and misdemeanours also were again and again laid to their charge, some of them only for the purposes of extorting money. One accusation—that of clipping the coins of the realm—was often made; perhaps with more reason, when we remember the facility with which it could be accomplished. Many Jews were hanged for this offence, and their houses and property escheated.

These outbreaks of violence, though perhaps encouraged by certain of the gentry and the ecclesiastics, were discouraged and often visited with punishment by the monarch, who regarded the Jews as his, "the King's property," and who, from the large revenue received from them, had good reasons for protecting them. Indeed, almost every occupant of the throne during their residence in England, showed in some special way favour to the Israelites. William the First, as we have seen, invited them to his new territory; William Rufus, according to the old chroniclers, impiously supported them against certain ecclesiastics; Henry the First made a special grant in their favour; Stephen, at a time during the Second and Third Crusades, when persecution was being waged against them on the Continent, "protected them and saved their lives and property," says Ephraim ben Jacob, who adds: "Praised be the Help of Israel!" Henry the Second so favoured them, says William of Newbury, "that they became proud and stiff-necked against Christians." Richard was greatly concerned at the outburst at his coronation, and, as we shall see, after the slaughters at York and other towns, he framed certain "*Capitula de Judæis*." John had special reasons for granting Charters to the Jews; Henry the Third issued various ordinances and mandates in their favour; and even Edward the First authorised them to trade and to purchase property.

It is superfluous to add that almost all these favours were

accompanied or followed by heavy taxes and tallages, and that there was method in the royal kindness.

The method, in Richard's time, after the coronation *émeute* and the shameful assaults at York, took the form of organising the Jewry, appointing a department of the Treasury for dealing with Jewish finance, and making special arrangements for questions affecting their status and welfare. The Jews had indeed always been allowed a certain amount of home-rule; so much so, that, in a petition addressed to Henry II., the clergy had asked why they should not be granted privileges which were "indulged to Jews." But Richard I. established a system of local registers and officers in the chief towns, as well as a central tribunal for the trial of Jewish causes. Certain results of this organisation may be mentioned: henceforth the royal power had an extraordinary grip of all Judaism, and, as the Jews had their fingers on the property of thousands of the nobles and gentry and ecclesiastics throughout the land, the king had indirectly a remarkable machinery at his command. Another result is that in the Record Office there exists—especially in the archives of the Exchequer of the Jews—a mass of information as to Jewish affairs extraordinary and abundant.

In almost every great movement during the period of their residence in England, the Jews figure directly or indirectly. In questions civil and ecclesiastical, in matters of social progress, in the great struggles of the Barons in the reigns of John and Henry the Third, in various popular movements, we meet with the Jews—helpful, but persecuted!

It is not, however, the purpose of this treatise to write a general history of the Jews in England, but to take a special department—that of the *Jews in Cambridge*—and by it to illustrate the general history. To render intelligible this specialisation the foregoing sketch has been written, and to help further in the understanding of the question a chronological list¹ is added.

¹ Cf. the list by Jacobs, *A.-J. H. E.*, p. 39.

CHAPTER II

THE CHIEF EVENTS IN THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM 1070 TO 1290

William I.

- c. 1070. William the Conqueror invited Jews to settle in England.

William II.

- c. 1090. William Rufus favours them.

Henry I.

- ~1130. The earliest existing Treasury records relating to Jewish finance.

Stephen.

- ~1144. The "martyrdom" of William of Norwich.

Henry II.

1168. The earliest recorded general Tallage (5000 marks).
1177. Burying-grounds allowed to the Jews in various towns.
1181. Jews forbidden to bear arms. - *Assize of Arms*
1187. Aaron of York died; seizure of his possessions; formation of the *Scaccarium Aaronis*.
1188. The Guildford Tallage (£60,000).

Richard I.

1189. The massacre at the coronation of Richard.
~1190. Riots and slaughter of Jews at York and other towns. *Assize of Jewry*
1194. The Northampton *Donum* (5000 marks).
The organisation of the Jewry; the "Capitula de Judeis."
1198. Innocent III.'s Ordinance against the Jews.

John.

- ~1201. Charters to the Jews renewed.
1205. Edict against coin-clipping.

- 1210. Arrest of all the Jews; Bristol Tallage (66,000 marks).
- 1215. Barons plunder London Jewry. Clause (No. 10) in *Magna Carta* relating to Jews.

Henry III.

- 1218. Proclamation ordering Jews to wear badges.
- 1226. Tallage of 4000 marks; 1233, Tallage of 10,000 marks, &c.
- 1232. The *Domus Conversorum* founded.
- 1241. Jewish "Parliament" at Worcester; Tallage (20,000 marks).
- 1244. Punishment Tallage of 60,000 marks (in connexion with slain London child).
- 1253. Royal Ordinance regarding the Jews.
- 1254. Protest of Elias, the Chief Presbyter, against excessive Tallage (10,000 marks).
- 1255. The Jews mortgaged to Richard of Cornwall.
- 1255. The "martyrdom" of Hugh of Lincoln.
- 1258, &c. The Barons' War. Attacks upon the Jews.
- 1262-3. The Jews assigned to Prince Edward.
- 1267. Tallage of 500 marks!
- 1269. "Provisions of Jewry."
- 1271. Royal mandate touching lands and fees of the Jews. The Jewry again mortgaged to Richard of Cornwall. Tallage for Prince Edward's Crusade (6000 marks).

Edward I.

- 1274. "The Statute of Judaism."
- 1275. Transference of Jews from the dower-towns of the Queen-dowager.
- 1278 (and 1281). Proclamation ordering Jewesses to wear badges.
- Numerous executions of Jews for coin-clipping.
- 1287. Jews fined and imprisoned.
- 1290. Expulsion of the Jews from England.

CHAPTER III

THE EXPULSION

As we have seen, the Jews had all along been unpopular with almost all classes of the people among whom they dwelt—not the least with the barons, the gentry, and the ecclesiastics, with whom they had had financial dealings. The royal power, however, had favoured and regulated the Judaism to which it owed so large a part of its revenue. The falling-off of that source of income towards the end of Henry III.'s long reign, and the Crusading sentiment of his eldest son and successor, Edward, together with the religious views of Eleanor, the consort of the latter, led to an alteration of royal policy. A warning was given in 1275 (and, as will be seen in the case of Cambridge, the movement was locally initiated) that the Jews would find their occupation gone; and in 1290 the King, encouraged by the civil and ecclesiastical representatives of the nation, ordered their expulsion from the kingdom.

We cannot here dwell upon the incidental cruelties of this stringent measure, and these strange wanderings of the Children of Israel. Nor can the eventful outcome of their expulsion be here commented upon, whereby the financial needs of the monarchy led on to the development of the political freedom of the people, and this in its turn helped towards the re-admission of the Jews into the country.

PART IV

THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE TILL 1275

CHAPTER I

THE TOWN OF CAMBRIDGE

FROM the earliest historic times Cambridge has been a town of importance. Its position with regard to London, to the eastern counties, and to the north marked it out as a centre for military and for civic operations. Great roads passed by and through it. Its river was crossed by ferry or bridge, "in some sort the most famous bridge¹ in England: the one bridge that gives its name to a county." Guarding the town at the passage rose a mound, fortified doubtless from early times by some kind of castle, which was elaborately "re-edified" by William of Normandy.

But long before the Conqueror's time, Cambridge had been a "civitas," with the special privileges of an ancient shire-borough. We are told, in the *Liber Eliensis*,² that "the Abbot of Ely comes to Cambridge and buys land at Toft, *coram tota civitate*; he then demands a *wed* of the vendor—in other words, a pledge for the delivery of seisin. But all men answer that Cambridge, Norwich, Thetford, and Ipswich enjoy such immunity and dignity that if any one buys land there he has no need of any *wed*." Here the Saxon kings had a mint;³ here the ealdormen held a grand court.⁴

And the importance of the town increased under the Norman rule, the position being intensified by the continued troubles in the neighbouring Isle of Ely. That importance may be judged, not merely from the military movements

¹ Maitland, *Township and Borough*, p. 37.

² *Liber Eliensis* (Stewart), p. 140.

³ Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage* (ed. 1817), i. 265, 269, 278, 283, 287; ii. 5, 6; iii. 6, &c. &c.

⁴ *Lib. Eliensis*, p. 137.

from this centre, and from the privileges granted by William and his successors, but from such differing illustrations as the following: when, at the beginning of the twelfth century, the diocese of Ely was formed out of the far-stretching jurisdiction of the Bishop of Lincoln, the principal arch-deacon of the new ecclesiastical sphere took his title, not from the renowned abbey-town in the fens, but from the county town of Cambridge; and, again, when the Empress Maud wished to confer honour on her favourite, Alberic de Vere, she bestowed upon him the title of Earl of Cambridge. It, however, was found that this dignity belonged to the King of Scots, and de Vere was consoled by the choice of some other earldom less attractive than that of Cambridge—Oxford, or Berks, or Wilts, or Dorset. Being disappointed of Cambridge, he had to be content with Oxford.

But the Cambridge of the days of the Normans, and indeed of all the days when it had a Jewry (that is, from about 1075, when the Jews settled there, till their expulsion from the town, which, as we shall see, took place two centuries later, in 1275, fifteen years before they were driven altogether from England)—the Cambridge of those days was so different from what it became in the fourteenth century, when the Collegiate system and the great buildings of the Friars were introduced, that it may be well briefly to glance at the appearance and customs of the Cambridge which the Jews knew.

Fortunately for our comparison, there exist two celebrated and elaborate official compilations—at the beginning, and at the ending of our period—which enable us the more easily to reconstruct the Cambridge of the days of the Jewry. In 1086 the *Domesday Book* was completed; in 1279 the *Hundred Rolls* furnished the record of an Inquisition which was specially detailed as to our borough.

From the Conqueror's great inquiry we learn that Cambridge (or *Grentebrige*, as it is therein called) held a peculiar position in the county. We are told, too, that it was divided into ten wards (*custodiæ*), and that it contained about four

hundred houses. Some of these lay to the north of the river, where William's castle-building cleared away twenty-seven of the people's dwelling-places; but the town, which, with its fields, was some five square miles in extent, must, of course, have stretched away to the south and east. The *Domesday Book* does not in this case give us much ecclesiastical information; we know, however, from the *Inquisitio Eliensis* (507), that there was a church belonging to the Abbey of Ely in the fourth ward; and, indeed, probably there were at least as many churches as there were wards—certainly the tower of St. Benedict's already stood, half a mile from the bridge, off the road leading to Trumpington. We do not know the dates of the foundation of any of the other old Cambridge churches, except those of St. Giles,¹ which was founded by Hugolina Picot in 1092, and of the Holy Sepulchre, which was erected about 1120,² on a piece of ground granted to certain members "de fraternitate Sancti Sepulchri." But this piece of ground was the "cimiterium Sancti Georgii." It is not necessary here to go into great detail, but it may be stated that, including these churches of St. George and St. Sepulchre, and the Church of St. Peter (now St. Mary-the-Less) outside Trumpington Gate, opposite to which was the chapel of St. Edmund, and two sacred buildings dedicated to the two Andrews, one just beyond the Barnwell Gate and the other along the Bury road, between which was a chapel connected with the Church of Holy Trinity,—there were altogether some twenty churches, among which were—beyond the river—another St. Peter's (*justa castrum*), St. Giles's (to whose foundation allusion has been made), an All Saints', and a Chapel of St. James, in a hamlet called Howes, lying in the northern corner of the fields. On this side of the river were St. Clement's and St. George's (succeeded by the Church of the Holy Sepulchre) in Bridge Street; then, passing along the road which led

¹ *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (ed. J. W. Clark, M.A.), p. 39.

² J. E. Foster, C.A.S., xxxix. 367; Atkinson, *Cambridge Described*, &c., p. 164.

toward Trumpington, were another All Saints' (since removed), St. Michael's, St. Mary's the Great, St. Edward's, St. Benet's, and St. Botolph's—all these were (and are) on the east side of the road. On the river-side, which was sparsely populated, the only church was that of St. John Zachary, which was situate in Milne Street (and was also subsequently rebuilt a short distance away from its original site). On the continuation of Bridge Street, towards Barnwell Gate, was the Church of the Holy Trinity, and, as before mentioned, just outside the gate was St. Andrew's the Great.

Thus Cambridge—especially when we remember that it only contained about four hundred houses at the beginning and about five hundred at the end of the period with which we are dealing—may be called a “city of churches.”

And yet it was not a “city” in the episcopal sense; no cathedral towered over the rest of the sacred edifices—indeed, no one stood out prominently among these twenty churches.

Nor were there any great monastic buildings in the town itself. Away down the Bury road, it is true, there was the important Priory of Barnwell, to which had been transferred, in 1112, the Augustinian canons whom Hugolina Picot had established near her Church of St. Giles; and nearer the heart of the town, on the same road, a nunnery, known afterwards as St. Radegund's, had been founded some twenty years later. But in the town itself there was no conventual establishment, except a small hospital (St. John's), built in 1135 by a townsman on some waste ground opposite the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and served by some Augustinian brothers, about whom even Thomas Baker (the historian of the great college which succeeded it four centuries later on) cannot speak enthusiastically.

Nor was Cambridge, during the period of the Jewry, much affected by “the coming of the Friars.” The Fran-

ciscans, indeed, settled in the town in 1224, almost immediately after their arrival in England; but they remained quietly in a building, about which we shall have something to say in the next chapter, for the following half a century; and it was not till the year 1275, in which the Jews were expelled from Cambridge, that these Grey Friars moved into their new and large quarters where now stands Sidney College. The Black Friars (the Dominicans) had after an interval followed the Franciscans to our University town; but they do not seem to have permanently chosen their headquarters till the same year, that of the Expulsion, nor did the Austin Friars arrive till fifteen years later. The White Friars (the Carmelites) had been settled for some time at Chesterton, and in 1249 had removed to Newnham, where they erected a fine set of buildings, but they continually complained of the distance from the lecture-rooms of the University, and at length they were constrained to move across the river into the town; but this was not until after the Jews had left. Two or three minor sets of friars (those of the Orders of Bethlehem, of Penitence, and of St. Mary) had small establishments in Cambridge for a few years towards the end of our period; but they were not influential, and, indeed, they were shortly afterwards suppressed by Papal authority.

During the next two or three centuries the Friars—the Preachers, the Minors, the Augustinians, the Carmelites—had magnificent establishments in Cambridge; but during the residence of the Jews they do not figure prominently in the life of the town or the University.

Another great difference between our period and subsequent times was the absence of the Collegiate system: there was no college or hall in Cambridge in the days of the Jewry. This does not, of course, mean that there was no University. There had been quiet, vigorous teaching and study going on for many long years in our celebrated county town and city of churches. And the keenness of the University life may be judged from the well-known

compact¹ drawn up in 1270 between the scholars and the burgesses, at the intervention of Prince Edward, and on the authority of his father, King Henry III. The first article of this agreement ran as follows:—

“That there should be annually chosen (within fifteen days from the time at which the masters should resume their lectures after the feast of St. Michael), of any county of England, five scholars of the more discreet there abiding, and three of Scotland, and two of Wales, and three of Ireland, and also ten burgesses (namely, seven of the city and three of the suburbs), all of whom (as well clerks as laymen) should severally take their corporal oaths to keep the peace and tranquillity of the University, and to cause the same to be kept by others.”

The third article read thus:—

“That there shall be elected in form aforesaid certain masters, who should write down the names of all principals, and of every house, and of all dwelling in the same houses, and who should swear such principals that they shall not knowingly receive any disturber of the peace into their hostels,” &c.

These articles are quoted because they illustrate the methods of the pre-collegiate University, whose members we see to be drawn from all parts of our islands. The scholars lodged in hostels and houses hired from the townspeople; and the quarrels alluded to were partly factions among the students themselves, and partly disputes between the scholars and the townsmen as to the payment for their lodgings.

And as there were as yet no colleges, so there were few University buildings. The lecture-rooms also were generally hired. Still there was doubtless some central official edifice near where the University Library now stands. And sometime before the end of our period we read of benefactors leaving messuages to the Chancellor and Masters of the University. One such building—which was thus

¹ *Hare MS.*, i. 21 (Cambridge Registry); Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, i. pp. 52, 53.

passed on to them—was the old “Church¹ of the Brothers of Penitence of Jesus Christ,” in the celebrated academical central spot. This had been secured by an early benefactor when the Friars of the Sack moved from the parish of St. Mary the Great to grounds beyond the Trumpington Gate.

Such were the University men with whom the Jews of early times met; and the townsmen were also vigorous and progressive. Allusion has already been made to the privileges they enjoyed in their old county town. These, or similar advantages, they claimed from the Williams and the Henrys. Henry the First, for instance, granted² to the burgesses that they might hold their town “at farm,” and secured to them a monopoly of the trade of the county by a charter,³ which declared: “I prohibit any boat to ply at any shore of Grantebrugeshire, unless at the shore of my borough of Cantebruge, neither shall carts be laden unless in the borough of Cantebruge, nor shall any one take toll elsewhere but there.” Stephen and John granted them fairs,⁴ one of which, the renowned “Stourbridge Fair,” became the greatest of such English gatherings. King John also allowed⁵ the burgesses “that they should have a Gild of Merchants,” and rendered perpetual the grant for which they had hitherto rendered yearly the ancient farm.

“Wherefore,” said the charter of 1207, “we will, and firmly command that the aforesaid burgesses and their heirs shall have and hold the aforesaid town with all its appurtenances well and peaceably, freely and quietly, entirely, fully and honourably, in meadows and feedings, mills, pools, and waters, with all their liberties and free customs; and we grant also to them that they shall make of themselves a Provost whom they will and when they will.”⁶

¹ *Hundred Rolls*, ii. p. 381.

² *Cooper's Annals*, i. p. 22.

³ *Cambridge Borough Charters* (Maitland and Bateson), pp. 2 and 3.

⁴ Lysons, *Cambridgeshire*, p. 140; *Cooper, Annals*, i. pp. 26, 34.

⁵ *Cambridge Borough Charters* (Maitland and Bateson), pp. 5–9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 9–19.

The charters granted to the town by King John were renewed by his son Henry III., and more also.

The varying fortunes of the town and University during the period of the Jewry need not be further dwelt upon here ; but such points as the following must be mentioned—for they will be found to affect the subject of this treatise—that the town of Cambridge seems to have been generally assigned as a dower to the Queen (it was, we shall see, in the hands of the Dowager Queen Eleanor when the Jews were expelled) ; and that its position rendered it unpleasantly exposed, for the burgesses and for the Jews, to the buffets of the contending parties in the various struggles between the royal forces and the party of the Barons. It was so in John's days, when Louis, the Dauphin of France, had his headquarters at Cambridge ; and it was specially so half a century later on, when the Barons carried off, to the fens, Jews and citizens together.

CHAPTER II

THE JEWRY IN CAMBRIDGE

THE expression "The Jewry" became linked with a portion of the parishes of All Saints and of Holy Sepulchre; but that was not till the later period of the residence of the Jews in Cambridge.

We must first turn to earlier times and to a more central part of the town.

We learn from the *Fine Rolls*¹ of the eighth year of Henry III., that the King, by letters to the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire, gave order, that he should put the bailiffs of Cambridge in possession of the house of Benjamin the Jew, to make thereof a common gaol for their Corporation. The house is said to have been then in the King's hands, and it may (as Fuller² suggests) have been forfeited to the Crown on misdemeanour. From the *Hundred Rolls*³ (1279) we find that the rent due to the King for the "Domus Beniamini" was still being paid; and, from a celebrated dispute⁴ between the town and the University at the beginning of the seventeenth century, we learn that the building was the same as the old Tolbooth, in Butter's Row, by the Guildhall. "The Jew's House, though it has been altered from time to time," says Mr. Atkinson,⁵ "appears never to have been entirely rebuilt, and some fragments of this, the earliest of our municipal buildings, are perhaps still to be seen. . . . It is built partly of brick and partly of stone; a cross wall in the cellar is entirely of stone, and appears

¹ Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 39.

² *Hist. of Univ. of Camb.* (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 21.

³ *Hundred Rolls*, ii. p. 356.

⁴ *Cole MSS.*, xx. pp. 220-228.

⁵ *Cambridge Described and Illustrated*, p. 92.

to be of earlier date." A room in this building—now and for many years used as a public-house,¹ and known as the "Town Arms,"—is still called the "Star Chamber" a name which has been supposed to link it with the Jewish tradition.

In the same year (1224), when the King made the grant of this house to the town authorities, the Franciscan Friars arrived in England, and some of them proceeding shortly afterwards to Cambridge (we learn from their records²) "they were welcomed by the burgesses, who assigned to them the old synagogue, which was next the prison." Here they afterwards built a small wooden chapel. There seems also to have been a Jewish cemetery close by, for, when the foundation of the present Guildhall was being digged in 1782, several gravestones were discovered,³ and among them, it is said, one with an imperfect inscription⁴ in Hebrew, מצבת קבורת ישראל . . . נות, "the sepulchral stone of Israel . . . who died. . . ."

These records of a synagogue and a cemetery, and of the stone house occupied by Benjamin, suggest that the first settlement of the Jews was in the heart of the town; though, of course, if the graveyard was a Jewish cemetery, it could not have been such before the year 1177, when permission⁵ was first granted to the Israelites to have sepulchres elsewhere than in London.

We may now turn to that part of Cambridge which was long known as "the Jewry." The parishes of All Saints and the Holy Sepulchre, and the Hospital of St. John—which was situate in the former of these—are frequently in old documents spoken of as "in the Jewry." One deed,⁶ which will be mentioned below, names "All Saints *next* the

¹ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. p. 142. Since the above was written, the building has been claimed by the Corporation.

² *Monumenta Franciscana*, i. pp. 17, 18. ³ Cooper's *Memorials*, iii. p. 133.

⁴ The present writer has not met with a similar use of the name ישראל at the date to which this inscription is supposed to refer. Perhaps the name is used in the communal sense.

⁵ Roger de Hovedene, *Chronica*, ii. 137; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, i. 7.

⁶ *The Priory of St. Radegund* (A. Gray, M.A.), C.A.S., xxxi. p. 92.

Jewry"; and another¹ deals with "a tenement *in vico Judeorum qui descendit a via usque ad Cimiterium Omnium Sanctorum*." This "Jews' Street" was also called Pilate's Lane (after a well-known Cambridge family holding property in that district). It ran from the highway (*i.e.* from the thoroughfare now known as Sidney Street) down past the churchyard of All Saints' to the other main street (now called St. John's Street). This *vicus Judeorum*, together with the triangle from it to the corner-house opposite the Round Church, was probably the centre of the Jewry; hence perhaps the expression quoted above—"All Saints *next* the Jewry." But the houses and lands of the Jews were not limited to this nucleus. As has been mentioned, St. John's Hospital, on the other side of the street towards the river, is said to be "in the Jewry." Again another deed, in the archives of Jesus College,² refers to a "messuage in the Jewry . . . extending from the highway to the King's ditch"; this probably would be situate in what are now the grounds of Sidney Sussex College. Again, another lease,³ in the Treasury of St. John's College, tells of a messuage, late of Mabel Pylet, granted "by Richard de Bodekesham, *piscator*, to Simon de Berton, vicar of St. John's Church, Miln Street, . . . between the cemetery of the Hospital of St. John and *quemdam Judaismum*, and between the cemetery of All Saints' Church and a tenement of the said Simon."

Documents⁴ will be quoted later on referring to houses in the parish of Holy Sepulchre held by Abraham son of Isaac, Josceus son of Saulet, and other well-known Jews, and it will be remarked that Geoffry Andre, the Christian chirographer at the date of the Expulsion, had his residence in the same parish. The celebrated Round Church had been built on a piece of ground granted by the Abbot

¹ *The Priory of St. Radegund*, pp. 92, 93.

² *Ibid.*, p. 93. The messuage was situate in the parish of All Saints.

³ Note by Mr. A. Gray.

⁴ See pp. 186, 191.

of Ramsey,¹ and several of the parishioners of St. Sepulchre's held their property under that ecclesiastic. Thus in a list² of Ramsey tenants (dated about 1239-40), we find among other names that of "Emma, daughter of Emma the Upholsteress (*Upholdera*), living in the Jewry (*in Judaismo*)," and we are told that "Lova, a Jewess then dead, had held certain land in the Jewry; but by whom it is now held is unknown, as it lies waste." It should be added that these two names are mingled with the names of certain Ramsey tenants living in the parish of St. Clement. This leads to the remark that there is also definite evidence of Jews living outside the parishes of Holy Sepulchre and All Saints; so that the expression, "the Jewry," need not be limited to those two parishes. Thus, in the *Hundred Rolls*³ (1279), we read of a messuage in St. Clement's, which was formerly inhabited by Jews, but which had been escheated to Queen Eleanor, the mother of Edward I., on account of the exile of the Jews.

A later record⁴ informs us that the property confiscated had been held by a Jew named Koc; and a deed,⁵ dated 1286, and preserved in the Treasury of Jesus College, enables us definitely to locate the messuage. Thomas Tuylet, clerk (we are told), assigned to his *pueri*, William and Ele, and the longest liver of them, two messuages in Bridge Street, in St. Clement's Parish, between a messuage of his father William on the south, and a messuage late of Koc, the Jew, on the north, abutting on the street and on the lane towards St. John's Hospital. The Tuylets paid rent to the nuns of St. Radegund and to the brothers of St. John's—in whose *Cartulary*⁶ there is also a record of the property referred to.

¹ *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia* (ed. Lyons), i. pp. 145, 146.

² *Ibid.*, p. 496.

³ *Hundred Rolls*, ii. p. 367.

⁴ *Essex MSS.* (B. M.), 6767, p. 11.

⁵ A. Gray, *St. Radegund* (C.A.S.), p. 122.

⁶ The writer desires to express his obligations to the Master and to the Bursar of St. John's College, Cambridge.

It will be noticed from the quotation just made out of the *Hundred Rolls*, that the Jews had already been exiled¹ from Cambridge before 1279, the year when those remarkable statistics were compiled; indeed, as we shall see in the next chapter, the Cambridge "exilium Judæorum" took place at the instigation of Queen Eleanor in 1275. Had the Jews remained in our town till the general Expulsion in 1290, the extraordinary fulness of the returns in the *Hundred Rolls* would doubtless have supplied us with much information about the dwellings of the Jews. When we examine those returns, and note the references to the parishes with which the Jewry was connected, we cannot but remark how few are the houses in them; in the parish of Holy Sepulchre there were apparently but eight houses, and in All Saints' only about thirteen or fourteen houses or shops, together with four barns, &c., and the Hospital of St. John; and this, although the latter parish stretched from the river at the back of the hospital on the west down past the Radegund Nunnery on the east. This suggests either that the actual number of Jewish dwellings was small, or that there was some uncertainty² in connection with the escheating of the property.

Of these Jewish dwellings special reference may be made to the following:—

There stood for centuries at the north-east corner of the old St. John's Lane a Stone House, sometimes called "the Jew's House," but more often known as "Bede's House." Caius, in his *De Antiquitate Cantebrigiensis Academiæ*,³ in

¹ As a matter of curiosity the following extract from Fuller's *History of Cambridge* (ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 77), under date 1291, may be quoted: "The Church of St. Mary's was this year defaced by fire. At what time the Jews (*whom I will not accuse as the causers thereof*) were forced to forsake the town, where they had a great synagogue." It is well that Fuller did not make the accusation, as the Cambridge Jews had been expelled some fifteen years previously.

² And yet the vicars of the two parishes would be keen to obtain their tithes; and it may be remarked that a special mandate was issued (37 Henry III.) to the Justices assigned to the custody of the Jews, ordaining that each Jew should pay the ecclesiastical dues.

³ Caius, *u.s.*, vol. i. pp. 106, 107.

accordance with the nebulous views then held of the origin of the University, elaborately connects the house with the residence and studies of the Venerable Bede, though he goes on to say that the building was also called *Judæorum cædes*, because the Jews afterwards lived there. Thomas Baker, in his *History of St. John's*,¹ speaking of the Jewry in Cambridge, says:—

“It is very probable that the Jews had a synagogue; and from all the marks of antiquity and religion yet remaining, I am apt to suspect the Stone Hostel near adjoining [to St. Sepulchre's and All Saints in *Judaismo*] was the place. In all appearance it must have been a place either of learning or religion; it was no seat of learning to us (though it has borne the name of Bede's House, who never came south of the Humber), having formerly belonged to one Joceus, a Jew, for so he is styled in an original grant of Roger Maniaunt; afterwards it came to the Priory of Barnwell, and now belongs to St. John's College; and possibly the canons of Barnwell, as they were patrons of the church, so might have an ambition to be masters of the synagogue.”

Baker adds, in a note (p. 27, n. 2), that “the Stone Hostel,” as he calls it, “at the corner of the street, is since demolished, and rebuilt with brick.” It is to be regretted that this old Jewish stone house should have been pulled down; though we know how even the stones of the Castle were carried off. In Lyne's map of Cambridge (1575), the “*Domus Sancti Bedæ*” is marked, and the name is printed at the end of the list of hostels appended; but the drawing does not show any “marks of antiquity and religion” such as to induce us to recognise, with Baker, the signs of a synagogue.

Another suggestion has been made that the designation “Bede's House” is a corruption of “Beadsmen's House”; the building perhaps having been used as an appendage to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But there is no evidence to support this, although a chantry of the Round

¹ (Edn. Mayor), i. p. 27.

Church was served by brothers of the Hospital of St. John, and in one deed the brothers speak of a stone house¹ (apparently identical with that about which we are treating) as "*domus nostra lapidea*."

There were certain other stone houses at the corner² opposite to St. Sepulchre's Church. These were acquired by Robert de Fulburn, Chancellor of the University, at the date of the exile of the Jews from Cambridge. He presented them to the canons of Barnwell, one of their number being required "to celebrate for him for ever." One of these houses³ was occupied afterwards by John Porthors, a well-known Cambridge citizen at the end of the thirteenth century. He paid a rent of 2½ marks to the Barnwell Priory.

¹ St. John's College MSS., B. i. 44; Kilmer's *Pythagoras School*, p. 31.

² Barnwell, *Liber Memorandorum* (ed. J. W. Clark, M.A.), pp. 97, 98.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

CHAPTER III

THE CAMBRIDGE SYNAGOGUE

WE have seen that in the very ancient Jewry in the Market Place there had been "an old synagogue," which, at the coming of the Friars, the burgesses assigned to the Franciscans.

In the new Jewry—that in the neighbourhood of the parishes of All Saints and the Holy Sepulchre—there was doubtless also a synagogue; but no records tell of its situation or indeed of its existence. As, however, the Jews were not allowed to meet for public worship in private houses, Baker was certainly right when he says: "It is very probable that the Jews had a synagogue"; but when he adds, speaking of the building known as *Bede's House*, that "from all marks of antiquity and religion yet remaining, I am apt to suspect the Stone Hostel was the place," he does not give any reasons to support his supposition, except that it had of old belonged to a Jew.

Fuller speaks of "a great synagogue"¹ in Cambridge, but he was probably thinking of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; for in another place² he remarks: "Round Church in the Jewry is conjectured, by the rotundity of the structure, to have been built for their synagogue." It would be unnecessary, in any case, to refute so strange a conjecture; but the foundation of this Christian church has already been recorded,

We cannot therefore definitely locate the second synagogue; and the same uncertainty exists as to the position of the Jewish cemetery. When the foundations³ for the

¹ *Hist. of Camb.* (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³ *Architectural History* (Willis and Clark), ii. p. 248, note 2.

present Selwyn Divinity Schools were being laid, opposite St. John's College, a large number of human bones were unearthed. This may betoken the place of sepulture¹ of the brethren of the ancient St. John's Hospital, and it may also tell of the position of the burial ground of the Jews. If this conjecture be correct, there would be in close proximity the cemeteries of All Saints' Church, of the Augustinian canons, and of the Israelites.

¹ *Hist. of St. John's College* (Baker, ed. Mayor), i. p. 43.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE FROM WILLIAM I. TO JOHN

THE Jews, whom William of Normandy brought over soon after the Conquest, settled in several of the chief cities of England. Fuller, in his *Church History of Britain*, says under date 1085:—"The Conqueror brought many Jews from Roan, and settled them in London, Norwich, Cambridge, Northampton, &c."

Early
Settlement
of the Jews
in Cam-
bridge.

Now it must be allowed that this historian's writings are sometimes more remarkable for their quaintness of style than for their accuracy; and yet Fuller, whatever we may think of his judgments, was a careful seeker after evidence, and he frequently had access to, and availed himself of, documents which do not now exist. In this particular instance, it must further be allowed that he is not consistent with himself, for in his *History of the University of Cambridge*,¹ he gives a different date (1106). This characteristically written passage may be quoted for what it is worth:—

"Jews at this time came first to Cambridge, and possessed a great part of the town, called the Jewry to this day [1654].

Fuller's
Account of
the Jews in
Cambridge.

Round Church in the Jewry is conjectured, by the rotundity of the structure, to have been built for their synagogue. . . . Some will say, Cambridge, an inland town of small trading, was ill chosen by these Jews for their seat, where the poor scholars, if borrowing from these usurers, were likely to bring but small profits unto them. But let it suffice, that the Jews chose this place, whom no Christian need advise, for their own

¹ Ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 8.

advantage. Here their carriage was very civil, not complained of (as elsewhere) for cruel crucifying of Christian children, and other enormities."

The statements and opinions contained in these quaint sentences will be commented upon later on; but the only point emphasised is the early date assigned to the coming of the Jews to Cambridge; though it is thought well to cite the whole passage while this reference is being quoted.

The extract just given is followed in Fuller's *History of the University* by a long and curious account of a mission of teachers and preachers sent by Joffred, Abbot of Croyland, to Cambridge in the year 1109.

Alleged
Mission
against
Judaism.

The details need not be dwelt upon here; they have been questioned, and are certainly inaccurate in some respects; though there may be,¹ and probably is, some foundation for the story. Fuller takes his facts, as he tells us, from "P. Blæsensis in his additament to the History of Ingulphus." It is curious, however, that although the account follows our historian's passage on the Jews in Cambridge, Fuller omits to say that the chief missionary and lecturer was noted for his attacks upon Judaism. It is also strange that the historian does not quote from Peter de Blois the following sentences: ²—

"Master Gislebert preached, every Sunday and feast-day, in some church, the Word of God to the people in the English tongue; but, well furnished and profound in his Latin and French, he strongly disputed against the error of Judaism. On festival days, being the sixth hour, he explained the text of the sacred page to scholars and priests especially flocking to hear him; and moreover, some yet unbelieving and blinded with judaical falsehood, were struck with remorse, and came at his words into the bosom of the mother Church, having scarcely abandoned their former error. And thus daily, and from day to day, the Christian faith was confirmed."

¹ "Although not copies, they are reconstructions of genuine documents," says Dr. W. de Gray Birch (*The Chronicles of Croyland Abbey*, p. viii).

² Gale, *Scriptores*, i. 114.

The next allusion to the Jews of Cambridge brings before us a curious illustration of the dealings which sometimes

Bishop of
Ely pawns
the relics
of his
Church.

took place between the Israelite money-lenders and Christian ecclesiastics of high position. We are told¹ of Nigellus, the second Bishop of Ely, that at one time he was "reduced to that extreme degree of necessity and want, that he was forced to part not only with all that was his own, but to pawn the relics of his church to the Jews at Cambridge, to redeem his peace." The exact date of this transaction is not certain; but the misfortunes of Bishop Nigellus were chiefly in the former part of his episcopate, which lasted from 1133 to 1169. An early date is suggested also by the fact that we learn from the *Pipe Rolls* that the Jews were during his later years fined for "taking in pledge" ecclesiastical properties used for devotional purposes; as may be seen from the following extract² from the *Exchequer Reports* of 16 Henry II. (1170): "Benedict, Jew of Norwich, son of Deodatus, renders account of £20 for the sacred vessels which he took in pawn." We may perhaps approximately suggest the year 1140 as the date of these strange dealings of the Christian Bishop of Ely with the Jews of Cambridge. The following curious legend as to a "miracle" relating to the relics pledged by Bishop Nigellus is taken from an old "Domysday Book,"³ formerly in the possession of the monks of Ely:—

"In the time of Stephen, King of the English, it happened that Nigellus, Bishop of Ely, incurred the great displeasure of that King. To soothe and pacify which it behoved the Bishop to offer a very large sum of money. Wherefore he seized the relics, the treasure of the Church; among which, in order to borrow the money, he pledged with a certain Jew of Cambridge the golden crucifix of King Edgar. Which crucifix, indeed, a certain Jew, of false mind and perverse will, took, and, seizing a little knife, he repeatedly pierced the image in

¹ *Hist. Eliensis*, p. 625.

² *Pipe Rolls*, *sub anno*, p. 8; Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, i. p. 228.

³ *Historia Eliensis*, Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. pp. 645, 646.

the eye; and forthwith a thin stream of blood trickling formed a line right down, so that it soaked the lower part of the shaft and reddened it. For this wonder had hitherto escaped the observation of all; but the God and Lord of all wished it to be manifested; and so by the Jews themselves it had been exposed. Whence it happened that henceforth the Jews, reverently and with the greatest fear, observed if they had in pledge anything in the sign of a cross or figure of the Lord."

The same Chronicle, in another place¹ informs us that, to preserve a relic of such prestige, the monks redeemed King Edgar's crucifix from the Jews of Cambridge, giving 200 marks by the hand of Prior William.

The next incident links the name of a Cambridge Jew with the first of a series of accusations against his Israelite brethren which have had terrible consequences, and which are not even yet unheard of in the periodic attacks upon this persecuted race. We have seen that Fuller,² in his account of the settlement of Jews at Cambridge, says: "Here their carriage was very civil, not complained of (as elsewhere) for cruel crucifying of Christian children, and other enormities." The alliterative historian was not aware that the first of these terrible accusations of child murders and mutilations—the so-called martyrdom of William of Norwich (1144)—is connected with the name of one Theobald, a converted Jew of Cambridge. In the edition³ of the *Life and Miracles of St. William of Norwich*, by Thomas of Monmouth, edited by the Provost of King's and Dr. Jessop, from a manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, we read among the arguments brought forward—under heading five—

A Cambridge Jewish Convert and the alleged Crucifying of Children.

"As a proof of the truth and credibility of the matter, we now adduce something which we have heard from the lips of Theobald,⁴ who was once a Jew, and afterwards a monk. . . .

¹ *Richardi Eliensis Historia Eliensis, ibid.*, i. p. 625.

² See p. 122.

³ Jessop and James, pp. lxxix, &c.

⁴ Mr. I. Zangwill questions the existence of Theobald of Cambridge. See the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, ix. p. 752.

'I was,' said he, 'at that time (1144) at Cambridge, a Jew among Jews [Kantebrugie, "*Cum judeis judeus*"], and the commission of the crime was no secret to me.' 'Is it,' says one of the editors, 'beyond the bounds of possibility that he did the deed himself? . . . it is true that Theobald says he was at Cambridge in 1144; but it is difficult not to believe that he was the person responsible for the account of William's death, and of the subsequent deliberations of the Jews, which Thomas (of Monmouth) heard 'from one of ourselves.'"

The indignation with which Mr. Joseph Jacobs¹ writes of Theobald may be understood: "It was to the vile imagination of this apostate that the whole theory of the sacred or ritual character of the murder, if murder it was, is due."

Fuller's peaceful description of the relationship of the Jews at Cambridge is also challenged by the following item from the *Pipe Rolls*² of 2 Henry II. (1155),
A Jew slain. where a Cambridge order reads: "Richard, son of William, renders count of 20 shillings for a slain Jew." We have no details of the fatal occurrence; the smallness of the fine suggests some riot or quarrel; but there is no contemporary allusion to any such disturbance; though Mr. Walter Rye³ may be correct when, in his paper on "The Persecutions of the Jews in England," he follows up his account of the Norwich "Child-Crucifixion" by saying: "The prejudice provoked against the Jews seems to have borne fruit at once, for, in 1155, we hear of a Jew being murdered at Cambridge."

The same set of Exchequer Records at the beginning of the reign of Henry II. gives us the first official report of those *dona* or tallages⁴ which, until their expulsion about a century and a half later, the Jews
An Early Tallage.

¹ *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 257.

² *Pipe Rolls*, 1155, 2 Hen. II., r. 2, m. 2; *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³ *Papers*, A.-J. H. E., p. 140.

⁴ "The whole body or community of the Jews of England were wont to be fined, amerced, and put in charge to the King, by the name of *Judæi Angliæ, Communitas* or *Universitas Judæorum Angliæ*, &c." (Madox, *Firma Burgi*, p. 96).

were continually paying (compulsorily or otherwise) to the English kings. In the fifth year of Henry II. a *Pipe Roll* ¹ tells us of the accounts rendered by the Sheriffs of London, of Lincolnshire, of Cambridge, and of Norfolk and Suffolk. "The Sheriff of Cambridge," we are told, "paid-in 50 marks for the donum of the Jews of Cambridge." No details are given of the number of those who were thus taxed, nor of the amount of individual payments. Later on the official returns of these tallages sometimes supply curious information as to the population and the wealth of the Jewries in various English towns. The Royal Executive, wise in its generation, often employed Jews themselves to supervise such collections. These modern Zacchæuses do not seem to have lost caste with their fellow-religionists, perhaps because the duties were compulsory. As an instance of these local supervisors, the following (later) example ² may be cited: "Judæi jurati de Kantebr' de tallagio faciendo, Isaac Blund et Jacobus de Clare, jurati quod nullum concelebunt qui habeat catalla xl. sol. et ultra" (3 Henry III.).

A private record, having reference to the year just mentioned (1159), and to later dates, provides us with most interesting details of the borrowings of a country gentleman, whose family had connexions with Cambridge, and who himself, as he tells us, frequently resorted to the Jews of our town. Richard de Anesty ³ has left the following, among other, allusions to his dealings with Cambridge money-lenders:—

A Country
Gentleman
borrows
from
Cambridge
Jews.

"In the first year of my plea (1159), when I sent John, my brother, beyond seas for the King's writ, I borrowed the forty shillings which I spent from Vives, the Jew of Cambridge, upon usance, a groat a week for the pound, and I kept the moneys during fourteen months, and I rendered for hire of the same thirty-seven shillings and fourpence, and this was on the third day after Mid-Lent.

¹ 5 Hen. II., 8a.

² See p. 250.

³ Palgrave, *Commonwealth*, ii. pp. xxiv, &c.; Jacobs, pp. 38, &c.

"And at Easter following, the said Vives lent me again sixty shillings, at a groat a week for the pound, which I kept six months, and for hire thereof I rendered twenty-four shillings.

"And when I myself crossed the sea for the King's writ for pleading, then Comitissa of Cambridge lent me four pounds and ten shillings, which I spent on the journey, at a groat a week for the pound, which moneys I kept nine months, and for which I rendered for usance fifty-four shillings. . . .

"And at the next time of payment Comitissa, of Cambridge, lent me one hundred shillings, which I kept two months, at threepence a week for the pound, and for which I rendered for usance ten shillings."

The interesting memoranda, of which the above are specimens, not only give us curious information about the rates of interest charged by the Jews, but they introduce us to some of these financiers. We notice, in connexion with Cambridge, the Jew *Vives* and the Jewess *Comitissa*—with their picturesque names.

Of Vives, "the Jew of Cambridge," as Richard de Anesty calls him, we know nothing further, unless he be identical with any of the same name to be mentioned later on. The name itself is, of course, a translation of the Hebrew חיים, "Life," though the word is sometimes transliterated into ויט.

Of Comitissa we hear on several occasions. For instance, a *Pipe Roll* extract¹ of the year 1169 informs us that "La Countesse, the Jewess of Cambridge, and her sons, and the Jews of Lincoln, were fined seven marks of gold for a trespass committed by a son of la Countesse, in marrying a Jewess of Lincoln without the King's licence." Another Exchequer record, dated nine years earlier, mentions a son of hers named David; while ten years later (1179) another *Pipe Roll* entry² reads as follows: "Benedict brother of Aaron, and Benedict son of

The
Jewess
Comitissa.

¹ *Pipe Roll*, 15 Hen. II., 12b; Jacobs, pp. 44, 45.

² *Ibid.*, 25 Hen. II.; *Ibid.*, p. 65.

Isaach, and Benedict son of Jacob render account of £6 for one mark of gold to be quits of Isaac son of Comitissa." As this extract is from the Lincoln records, this Isaac is very likely the son of la Countesse, whose marriage without licence is chronicled above.

Further, Mr. Joseph Jacobs¹ identifies this Isaac with the father of R. Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah (= Comitissa), a celebrated grammarian, the author of *Sepher Hashoham*, or the *Onyx Book*, "the most important literary production of the early Jews of England."

In the *Pipe Rolls* for the twelfth and following years of Henry II. (1166-68),² we are introduced to certain rich Jews—Aaron of Lincoln, and Isaac, "son of Rabbi" —who were "ferm-gatherers" in certain counties, and had various official dealings with the Sheriffs thereof—including the county of Cambridge.

A singularly interesting record in the *Pipe Rolls* for 1172 refers to a Jewish affair of local import. It is related that "the Jews of Cambridge owe half a mark of gold for having an agreement amongst themselves" (*pro facienda concordia inter ipsos*). We are told in the Exchequer report of the following year that they paid this fee; but what the nature of the agreement was we are not informed. Doubtless, as Mr. Joseph Jacobs³ suggests, it refers to some important case brought before the *Beth-Din*, or ecclesiastical tribunal of the Jews at Cambridge.

We learn from the Chronicles of "Benedict the Abbot" and Roger of Hoveden that, in the year 1177, King Henry II. gave permission to the Jews to have sepulchres in any city of England, whereas previously all dead Jews used to be carried to London to be buried. It has been mentioned above⁴ that the Jews of Cambridge are supposed to have had, at the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century, a

"Ferm-gatherers."

Jews allowed Home Rule.

Burial-places permitted to provincial Jews.

¹ *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 66.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 43-4.

³ *Ut supra*, p. 55.

⁴ See p. 114.

cemetery in the centre of the town. It ought, however, to be mentioned that the chroniclers say that the licence granted in 1177 gave permission "to have a cemetery *beyond the walls of the cities.*" If this restriction was relaxed in practice, it may be that, when the Israelites of Cambridge moved from the neighbourhood of the Guildhall to the part long known as the Jewry of our town, they obtained on the waste land near what is now the site of St. John's College, a place of sepulture—for there were, as we have seen, in that neighbourhood several churchyards, those attached to the churches of All Saints and the Holy Sepulchre (with St. George's before the erection of the Round Church), and that belonging to the brethren of the Hospital of St. John. The writer has not, however, found any reference to an Israelite cemetery in the Cambridge Jewry, though one doubtless existed.

A few paragraphs back allusion was made to Aaron of Lincoln. When this celebrated usurer died in 1187, his financial affairs were so far-reaching, that a special **Scaccarium Aaronis.** branch of the Exchequer, the *Scaccarium Aaronis*, was formed to deal with his debts. These had to be collected in a large number of counties; among other places mentioned is Cambridge, as may be seen from the *Pipe Rolls* for the year 1192 (3 Richard I.).

The same Exchequer Records, in the following year (4 Richard I.), report from Cambridge that "Vives, son of Josce, owes half a mark for a surety for the Jews of Cambridge," and that "Vives, brother of David, renders count of 40s. for the same, Bonevie 10 marks for the same, David, son of Cypora, 5 marks for the same." There is no evidence that the troubles which fell upon the Jews in many parts of England—including Bury St. Edmund's and Lynn—in the opening years of Richard's reign, reached Cambridge. The sums here mentioned may have been paid in connexion with the charter granted by that king.

It will be noticed that in this entry there are allusions

to two Jews named Vives, and that while one of them is described, in accordance with the usual custom, as "the son of Josce," the other is not linked with his father's name, but is called "Vives, brother of David." This David may be the son of la Countesse mentioned above. It will also be noticed that there is another David, who makes a payment, and that he is said to be the "son of Cypora." This distinctive use of the name of the mother (or the brother), instead of that of the father, is found on other occasions. It has been suggested that this may be due to the conversion of the father; but there are no proofs of this, and it may simply refer to his decease; whilst, as we shall see, many Jewish women were very active in financial affairs.

Among the important changes made in King Richard's time in connexion with the organisation of the general Jewry, one of the most effective was the establishment of local branches of the Jewish Exchequer, with chests or *archæ* of the chirographs, at various cities. Cambridge was, of course, one of these chosen centres; and there are numerous allusions from the year 1194 onwards to transactions connected with the Cambridge Court. It will be seen, however, later on,¹ that some fifteen years before the Expulsion of the Jews from England, those of them who were settled in Cambridge were compelled—through the influence of Queen Eleanor, mother of Edward I.—to leave our town, the chest being removed to Huntingdon in the year 1275.

Turning again to the *Pipe Rolls*, it should have been mentioned that a local entry, under date 1191 (3 Rich. I.), informs us that "Judas, Jew of Cambridge, renders count of 100s. because he withdrew himself from his appeal." We have not details of the case in which this heavy fine was incurred.

This Judas figures twice in the celebrated *Donum* promised, at Northampton, by the Jews, to Richard I. on his return from Germany.

Chirograph
Chest.

Heavy Fine.

The North-
ampton
Donum.

¹ See p. 189.

The Roll containing the list of the Jews who contributed to the tallage of the year 1194 and the amounts of their contributions, is still preserved in the Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer in the Public Record Office. The heading reads as follows: "Roll of receipts from the Jews of the whole of England, made at Northampton after the return of our Lord [King Richard] from Germany." The roll consists of three membranes, on the third of which are two lists headed Cambridge. In the former of these lists are the following eight names: Benjamin of Cambridge, Cipora, wife of Hakelot, Bonevie of Cambridge, Judas of Cambridge, David son of Cipora, Jacob son of Manasses, Benedict of Remenel, and Isaac son of Levi. In the other list are the following fifteen names: Benjamin, Cipora, David, Judas, Vives of Hamton, Benedict son of Isaac, Josce son-in-law of Isaac, Samuel son of Jacob, Josce son of Manasses, Samuel son of David, Abraham son of Isaac, Abraham Levi, Jacob Levi, Bonevie, and Isaac senex. It will be noticed that five names are common to the two records, viz. Benjamin, Cipora, Judas, David, and Bonevie. The lists may be respectively those of the town and the county. The amounts paid (which are given in full in the Appendix),¹ varied from £9, 10s. and £25 contributed by Benjamin, and £2, 16s. and £11, 10s. promised by David, down to 11s. 8d. given by Josce, the son-in-law of Isaac. With Benjamin, the largest contributor, we shall deal later on, and other names here recorded either have already come before us, or will hereafter be alluded to. It will be seen from the Appendix that the total sums promised in the two Cambridge lists were respectively £28, 2s. and £68, 18s.

Sometimes, when a Jew changed his residence from one town to another, he was known by the name of the city with which he had been formerly connected. Thus, in **Moses of Cambridge.** the London list of the contributors to the Northampton *Donum*, there occurs the name of "Mosse of Cambridge," who paid the sum of £2, 13s. The same Jew is

¹ See Appendix II., p. 248.

referred to in a *Pipe Roll* entry,¹ dated London 1198, where we read: "Mosse of Cambridge owes 20s. for having right to a debt of £10, 10s. against Galfred de Caxton." Mr. Joseph Jacobs not only suggests that this Jew was identical with Moses ben Isaac, the author of the *Onyx Book* referred to above (p. 129), but asks: "Is Galfred the first known Caxton?" Caxton, it may be remarked, is a village near Cambridge.

We find an allusion to the same individual in another somewhat mysterious Exchequer entry, which runs as follows: "Moyses of Cambridge renders count of 40 marks because he confessed he was present when that Knight was obliged to make an affidavit that he would not show the justiciars the injury done him." Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge, is found in London in 1218, and in Cambridge many years later on, in 1253.

In the same record—the list of the contributors to the *Northampton Donum*—among the Jews of Lincoln occurs the name of Peter de Cantebrig, and among the "Of Cambridge." Israelites of the University town itself we find mention of a Benjamin, a Bonevie, and a Judas, who are each said to be "of Cambridge." The addition of the name of the town in these last cases seems to suggest that, although they were then resident in Cambridge, they were accustomed to sojourn in other places, and were everywhere known by their headquarters.

"Milo de Cantabrigia Judeus Wintonie" is the name of a Cambridge Jew living at Winchester which occurs several times in documents about the year 1231; Solomon of Cambridge was resident in Canterbury in the year 1270, while about the same date his son Benedict—officially known as "Benedict son of Solomon of Cambridge"—had dealings at Wilton.

Other instances might be given of Jews thus specially connected with Cambridge, but living elsewhere; while, of course, numerous examples might be quoted of Israelites

¹ *Pipe Rolls*, 9 Rich. I.; Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 183.

who were generally distinguished by the name of the town of which they were natives, or with which they were specially linked.

The consideration of these names opens up a question of great interest, and a detailed consideration of such titles would throw much light upon the way in which
Migrations. Jews moved from town to town, and upon the business relationships and the intermarriages of these interesting people in the days before the Expulsion.

One of the last records of the reign of King Richard reminds us that the tallages charged upon the Jews were
Arrears of Tallage. not always paid immediately, but that often a considerable interval intervened before the arrears were gathered in; indeed, sometimes certain amounts were altogether lost. Thus, in Richard's last year,¹ there occur various names upon the *Pipe Rolls* of those in "arrears of the tallage of the Jews at Guildford"; among others, Jews of Cambridge are said to owe 19 marks in connexion with the levy made fourteen years before.

Coming to King John, it may be remembered that reference² was made in the First Chapter to the personal and official dealings of that monarch with the Jews.
King John and the Jews. Very early in his reign, in fact before the date of his coronation at Westminster, we find allusion to him in a Cambridge record. The Rolls of the King's Court, dated 9th May 1199, contain the following interesting entry: "Richard de Munfichet *v.* the Jews of Cambridge about the service of the lord Duke on the plea of the debt of William de la Haye, John the Frenchman. . . ." John is here described as "the lord Duke," because, although he had already been installed as Duke of Normandy, he had not yet been crowned King of England.

Richard de Mountfichet, who acted as John's agent in this affair, was a man of position, whose great-grandfather, Robert Gernon, was distinguished in the time of William

¹ *Pipe Rolls*, 10 Rich. I.; Jacobs, *u.s.*, p. 195.

² See p. 96.

the Conqueror. Richard was one of the twenty-five Barons appointed to secure the observance of the provisions made in the *Magna Carta*. He was subsequently taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln in 1217.

An early
University
Benefactor.

He was the founder of the Priory of Tremhall, two miles from Stansted-Mountfichet. This priory had property¹ in the town of Cambridge. It is interesting to note that Richard de Mountfichet's name occurs in the old *Missa Benefactorum*² of our University, and that he was for centuries remembered in the roll of those named at the Coronation service. He had possessions in Cambridgeshire, and was Sheriff of Essex and Hertford shortly before his death in 1246.

The same Rolls,³ from which the last entry was quoted, record later on in the same year (27th October 1199) the following reference to some property belonging to the Stourbridge Leper Hospital in the suburbs of Cambridge:—

The Master
of the Leper
Hospital
and the
Jews.

“Assise to determine whether Alan de Barton had unjustly and without warrant disseised the Master of the Lepers of Steresbury of his free tenement in Cumberton. At the Assize Alan says that the Assize ought not to be brought against him because he claimed nothing for that land except a rent of 10s. a year, payable at proper terms, through Judas and Abraham and Samuel, Jews of Cambridge, whose mortgage that land is. They come and warrant this. The jury say that in this way he has disseisined them. Let the Jews have seisin, and Alan is at mercy, 20 shillings and damages 20 shillings.”

The masterful and arbitrary attitude of King John towards the Jews may be seen from the following contradictory orders as to debts due from two gentlemen, brothers, of Shelford, and certain Jews of Cambridge. It will be noticed that both principal and interest are dealt with. The extracts, which are taken

Quit-
claims by
the King.

¹ *Cole MSS.*, British Museum, 5813, p. 244b.

² Stokes's *Book in the University Registry*, Cambridge [28a].

³ *Rotuli Curie Regis*, ed. Palgrave, ii. 62; Jacobs, p. 191.

respectively from the *Liberate*¹ and *Oblate Rolls*,² read thus :—

“The King to Galfred fitz-Peter, &c. Know that we have quit claimed Matthew de Shelford and William his brother of £40 sterling which they owe to the Jews of Cambridge, both of principal and usury, of which we order you to cry him quits. Myself at Moleville, 25 May [1204].

“Master Benjamin, and Jacob son of Manasses, and Abraham and Manasses, sons of Benjamin, and Samuel son of David, and Sante de Gurnon, owe 20 marks, that William of Shelford and Matthew his brother be distrained to pay them £42 for capital and interest [1204].”

As to “Master Benjamin,” we have seen³ that he paid the largest share in the Cambridge addition to the Northampton tallage of 1194; wherein also occur as contributors Jacob son of Manasses, and Samuel son of David.

Mr. Joseph Jacobs thinks⁴ that this Master Benjamin is identical with the grammarian “R. Benjamin of Canterbury”: regarding the name of the cathedral city in this case as a misreading from that of the university town.

As this is the first occasion, in connexion with the Jews of Cambridge, that we have used the title *Master*,⁵ a few remarks may here be made as to the designation. Mr. Jacobs is certainly right in saying that “the title Magister implies something more reverend than money-lending”; but is he correct in making it equivalent to “doctor or physician”? It is quite true that Elias, the son of Master Moses, was a physician; but there is no proof that his father “Master Moses,” was a member of that profession. Rather were “the Masters of Law,”

Rabbi Benjamin of Cambridge.

The Jewish title, “Master.”

¹ *Liberate Rolls*, ed. T. D. Hardy, p. 34; Jacobs, p. 229.

² *Pipe Rolls*, 5 John, rot. 1a; Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, p. 155; *ibid.*, p. 219.

³ See p. 132.

⁴ *Jews of Angevin England*, p. 282.

⁵ See the chapter on this title, pp. 48, &c.

Rabbis skilled in the interpretation of Jewish customs and rules.

It may be pointed out that the details of certain official lists distinguish between "Masters" and Physicians. For instance, in the Guildford tallage,¹ we read "Ysaac *Medicus* . . . Bendit gen. *Mag.* Mosse, Josce fil. *Medici*, &c."

Rather may it be suggested that the title had reference to an official position according to the law and custom of Jewry. In certain legal documents relating to excommunications, for instance, Master Elias, son of the well-known Master Moses of London, is cited to give special testimony, and in one case he is described² as "Magister Legis Judaicæ." In another case,³ a Jew is advised to "go before the Master of his Law in Chapter, and implead him there, because matters of this sort touching his Law ought not to be corrected elsewhere."

The title *Magister*⁴ is shown by certain bilingual documents to be equivalent to the designation *Rav*; see, for instance, the deed quoted by Tovey, in his *Anglia Judaica* (p. 180), where יעקב בן רב משה דלונדרש refers to Jacob, the son of the celebrated Master Moses of London.

Further illustrations of King John's insistence may be quoted:⁵ "The King to the Sheriffs of Cambridge and other counties, greeting: We order you that as ^{King John} you love you and yours you make such and so ^{persistent.} urgent distrains on the Jews of your bailiwicks for their debts, that the money which they ought to pay us at once shall not remain unpaid through any fault of yours, &c."

Some years later (1210) the then Sheriff of Cambridge was fined⁶ under the following circumstances: "Fulk, son of Theobald, was fined one hundred marks, that ^{The Sheriff} he might have a verdict of good men of the ^{fined.}

¹ Jacobs, *Angevin Jews*, pp. 88-9.

² Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 88.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴ See Chapter VI. of this work, on "*Masters of the Law*."

⁵ *Close Rolls*, 5 John (1204), Jan^y 30th.

⁶ Madox (*Fines*), p. 305.

county, touching things charged on him relating to the men of the town of Cambridge and the Jews." In the next reign we shall find¹ Ralph fitz-Fulk fitz-Theobald, the son of this Sheriff, involved in a remarkable law-suit in which the Jews were concerned.

On the 19th of December 1215, by a writ² tested at St. Albans, John commanded the Constable of Cambridge to put Adam de Wayte into possession, as of the
A House
escheated. King's gift, of the household which had belonged to Hakes, the Jew of Cambridge, unless it were worth more than a mark per annum. This was doubtless a case of escheat; but for what offence, or where the house was situate, we do not know.

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 35.

² *Close Rolls*, 17 John, m. 13 (ed. Hardy, 242b); Cooper, *Annals*, i. 35.

CHAPTER V

THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE UNDER HENRY III.

WITH the reign of Henry III., we find the Exchequer of the Jews fully organised, and, as the records of its dealings are fairly well preserved under this monarch, and very fully under his successor, we have, henceforth and until the Expulsion of the Jews in 1291, abundant material as to the law-suits and financial affairs of Jewry. And these are being admirably edited by Mr. Rigg generally in his *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, and in certain instances have appeared in fuller detail in his *Select Pleas, Starrs, and Records*.

We proceed to refer to certain of these, together with other historical and personal matters affecting the Jews of Cambridge.

And, first, under date 1218, may be quoted a London record¹ already mentioned: "A day, the quindene of St. Hilary, assigned to John de Garlande and Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge, touching a plea of debt. Pledges for Isaac of his body, Abraham, nephew of Jacob the Presbyter, Josce, son of David, and Samuel of Warwick." Here we have the son of the distinguished Jew, "Moses of Cambridge," an account of whom has been given above;² and we also have another well-known name, that of Jacob the Presbyter,³ who for a time held the office of "Chief Presbyter of the Jews."

In connexion with a tallage levied upon the Jews in the third year of the reign of Henry III., there remain among *The Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer* records of

Organisa-
tion of
Judaism.

Extracts
from the
Plea Rolls
of the
Jewish
Exchequer.

¹ Rigg, ii. p. 9.

² See p. 132.

³ See pp. 24, 25.

the appointment of leading Jews to superintend the collection of the tax, as well as the names of those who **Jewish Tallagers.** were forced to contribute. Minute regulations are given as to the methods of making the levy. Among the Jews sworn to make the tallage were—as representing Cambridge—Isaac Blundus and Jacob of Clare, while another Cambridge Israelite, Isaac Bigelin, was chosen one of the Tallagers or Assessors for the whole country. With this influential Jew we shall meet later on.¹ His name heads the following list of those who were taxed at Cambridge: Isaac Bigelin, Jacob son of Deulesaut, Diaye “filius Magistri,” Aaron son of Isaac, Diaye son of Samuel, and Laurence son of Cok. Later on in the document there is a list of those who mainperned (*manuceperunt*) certain of the Jews. For example, Adam, chief bailiff of Cambridge, was pledged “producere Isaac Bigelin ad conducendum versus Lond’ in prisonam”; David of Oxford in the same way mainperned Jacob of Cambridge; while John “de Chantum” and Henry de Bellgrave were responsible for Bonamy, Josce, Aaron, Cresse, and Copin, other Jews of Cambridge.

In the following year (1219) there commenced a suit,² which concerned some properties at Bourn, which had belonged to one Simon de Turri, who had **A Law-suit.** borrowed money thereon from the Jews. The affair lasted some time, and involved a number of persons—among whom were the Prior of Barnwell, the brethren of the Leper Hospital at Stourbridge, Everard fitz-Milo, and other men of standing, as well as Ralph “the Serjeant” and Adam the cobbler, both belonging to the village where the land lay. The whole affair need not be entered into; but with regard to the Prior of Barnwell, we read that he—

“appears [at Cambridge] to a summons to show how and by what warrant he entered upon the land in Brunn that belonged

¹ See p. 148.

² See H. Cole, *Documents*, pp. 297–8, 303; and Rigg, *Exchequer of Jews*, i., Index.

to Simon de Turri, and is the King's gage for a debt owing by Simon to Jews. The Prior produces three charters touching seven acres, which Simon gave him, to wit, two in frankalmoign before the loan, and five after the loan. Simon appears, and warrants the Prior and the seven acres and the charters. The Prior appoints Ralph Master his attorney to hear his judgment. On Easter quindene Geoffrey de Turri appears and quit-claims to the Prior and Convent of Barnwell the five acres that his father, Simon, gave them in frankalmoign. So Geoffrey is in mercy."

Everard fitz-Milo appeared to a summons as to a portion of the land at Bourn, and answered that "he does not hold that land, but his son, Simon, holds it by gift of the Brothers of the Hospital of Stelesbridge, and produces their charter thereof." An arrangement was come to between Geoffrey, the son of Simon de Turri, and certain of the parties; but, in the following year, a mandate was issued to most of those involved "to be before the Justices at Westminster on the octave of St. Michael, to show how and by what warrant they entered upon the land of Simon de Turri after it was the King's gage on Jewish account, and to satisfy the King touching the debts owing to him upon the said land."

Ralph fitz-Fulk fitz-Theobald was also summoned to appear at Westminster, perhaps to give evidence in connexion with his father, the late Sheriff.

Simon de Turri, whose dealings with the Jews are here referred to, was not only a benefactor to the Priory of Barnwell, and perhaps to the Hospital of Stourbridge, but also, as may be seen from the records¹ at Jesus College, the donor of land to the nuns of St. Radegund.

In the year 1220 the Prior of Barnwell² again, on two or three occasions, came before the Court at Cambridge in connexion with a house which was an escheat of the King and had belonged to Jacob Cymrac. One Geoffrey (fitz-Eustace) de Madingele, dis-

Another
House
escheated.

¹ *The Priory of St. Radegund*, ed. A. Gray, M.A., C.A.S., vol. xxxi. p. 80.

² Rigg, i. p. 20.

trained to show by what warrant he entered upon this escheat, came and vouched to warranting the Prior of Barnwell, who afterwards warranted "the messuage with its appurtenances in Cambridge, and if he be not able to warrant it, he will otherwise satisfy him, so that he will make his grant good." In this case of escheat we are again ignorant of the cause, as we are in several instances to be quoted. In one case, however—that of Bonenfant the Jew¹—we are told that he had been hanged for coin-clipping.

Other county cases relating to the Jews were, of course, also dealt with at the Cambridge Court, but here **Cases in the County Court.** only those need be mentioned which have reference to the town and its inhabitants.

Another suit² which came before the Cambridge Court during this same year (1220) was connected with certain property at Madingley, lately belonging to one Albric **Property Dispute.** of that village. These lands were "gages of the King for a debt of the said Albric on Jewish account," and were then held by a number of tenants, including Robert of Madingley and Maurice Ruffus³ (a wealthy and generous inhabitant of Cambridge, who was probably the son of the said Albric). A mandate was issued to the Sheriff that he summon these tenants to be before the Justices at Westminster on the octave of St. John to show by what warrant they entered upon the lands, and that he inquire how much each of them holds, and for how long he has held it, and what it be worth by the year, and what and how much he has received thereof, &c. The tenants, however, did not appear in the King's Court at Westminster on the day thus appointed; and another mandate was issued to the Sheriff to take into the King's hands the said lands, and "to do the Justices to wit of the day of caption," and to summon the tenants to show why they "made default or essoinment."

¹ *Hundred Rolls*, ii. p. 392.

² Rigg, i. pp. 31, 53–55.

³ *Outside the Trumpington Gates*, Camb. Antiq. Soc., vol. xliv., Index.

The inquest subsequently held, however, testified that several of the tenants held their portions of the land under good title. Maurice Ruffus, for instance, proved that his 20 acres had been held by him and his father for 28 years, and "the term of the loan is 15 years." Two of the tenants, however, again made default of appearance; and a further mandate ordered the Sheriff "that he retain their lands in the King's hand, and by view of lawful men cause all the corn thereon found to be gathered together and kept safe, and he shall be answerable for the value."

Of the tenants named, Robert of Madingley¹—or his son, who bore the same name—married Derota, the daughter of Thomas of Tuddenham and Matilda de Walda, his wife. These names² are all of singular Links with
the University. interest in connexion with the history of the University. For Thomas of Tuddenham was a well-known Bedell, whose name occurs in the old list of benefactors, while his wife was a lady of considerable property. To her also the University was indebted, for she offered to the academical authorities the advowson of the Church of St. Michael. There seems to have been some hitch in the transfer, for the question came before the law courts on two or three occasions—the last occasion being in 1324, when Hervey de Stanton, the founder of Michaelhouse, treated with the daughter Derota mentioned above. This lady in one document is styled "Derota la Parchiminere"—a name which suggests connexion with the book trade.

With regard to Maurice Ruffus, it may be added that Professor Maitland, in his *Township and Borough*,³ has printed, from the Cartulary of St. John's Hospital in the archives of St. John's College, a deed Land mort-
gaged to
Jews. entitled: "Carta Mauricii Ruffi de quindecim acris terre et de quadam terra in Judaismo." By this deed, "which seems to come from King John's day or there-

¹ *Outside the Trumpington Gates*. Camb. Antiq. Soc., vol. xliv., Index.

² *Ibid.*, Index.

³ *Township and Borough*, pp. 172, 173.

abouts," Maurice Reed gave to the Hospital some fifteen acres—half a virgate—of land lying in or near Cambridge—as well as "that moiety of all my land *in Judaismo de Cantebrige*, which moiety is towards the Barnwell Gate." The positions of the 36 portions of the half a virgate are very elaborately detailed; but we are not told anything further of the land except its proximity to the Barnwell Gate.

It may be added that the same Cartulary¹ at St. John's College also records a charter from John, the son of Maurice Ruffus, confirming his father's gift. We shall see² later on that this John Ruffus, like his father and his grandfather, had dealings with the Jews.

We have already,³ in the description of the Jewry in Cambridge, alluded to the early settlement of the Israelites in the heart of the town; it is only necessary now, therefore—when we come chronologically to the year 1224—briefly to state that King Henry III., by writ⁴ dated the 15th of October in that year, sets forth that

The House
of a Jew
becomes the
Town Gaol.

"the men of the town of Cambridge had made fine to him for 40 marks, for having the house which was Benjamin the Jew's in Cambridge, then in his (the King's) hands, for making a gaol in the town of Cambridge; rendering to him one mark, and to the chief lord of the said house two shillings per annum. The Sheriff was therefore commanded to receive good security for the said fine and rent, and without delay to give seisin of the said house to the men of the town."

In the same year (1224) the Franciscan Friars arrived in England, and some of them soon proceeded to Cambridge, where they were welcomed by the burgesses,⁵ who assigned to them the old synagogue, which was next the prison.

The Old
Synagogue
given to
the Fran-
ciscans.

¹ *Cartulary, penes* St. John's College.

² See p. 156. Note also, at a much later date, references to Ralph le Rus, probably connected with the family (Rigg, *Exchequer of Jews*, ii. p. 142).

³ See p. 113.

⁴ *Rot. Fin.*, 8 Hen. III.

⁵ See p. 114.

The Jews must, of course, before this—perhaps long before this—have changed their quarters and settled in the parishes of All Saints and the Holy Sepulchre—that neighbourhood being then and long afterwards known as the *Jewry*.

Attention must now be drawn to a Roll, preserved in the *Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer* in the Record Office, which gives a long and detailed list of the debts contained in the Cambridge *Archa*, or Chest of the Roll of Debts. Chirographers, from the eighth to the twenty-fourth year of King Henry III. This document is printed in full in the Appendix.¹ Here we extract the names of all the Jews mentioned, arranging them in alphabetical order. A list is also given of the Cambridge people who are indebted to the Jews. The record also contains the names of many inhabitants of the county of Cambridge, as well as of the neighbouring parts of the counties of Huntingdon, Hertford, Suffolk, and Essex. These, which include Thomas, the Abbot of Walden, Sir Robert de Hastings, and other large landowners, may be seen in the Appendix.

The following is a list of the Jews mentioned Jews named in the Roll. in this Roll:—

Aaron, son of Abraham (1239).	Dyaya, son of Mosse of Lincoln (1233).
Aaron, son of Isaac (1240).	Elias, Episcopus Lond' (1232).
Aaron of Colchester (1239).	Elias de Kant. (1239).
Aaron of York (1239).	Floria, daughter of Samuel (1234).
Aaron Blund of London (1236).	Isaac, son of Josce le Prestre (1239).
Aaron, son of Mosse (1224).	Isaac, son of Mosse (1239).
Avigai, daughter of Deulesaut son of Isaac [a widow], (1238).	Isaac, son of Samuel (1238).
Benedict, son of Samuel (1238).	Isaac le Blund (1238).
Benedict Crespin (1240).	Jacob, son of Deulesaut.
Benjamin, son of Jacob (1239).	Jacob Crespin, Jew of London (1231-9).
Chera, daughter of Abraham (1234).	Josceus, son of Abraham (1227).
Deulesaut, son of Dyaya (1233).	Josceus, son of Isaac (1236).
Deulesaut, son of Isaac.	Josceus, son of Manasser (1239).
"Duce," daughter of Jacob (1231).	Josceus, son of Mosse (1240).
Dyaya, "filius Magistri" (1236).	
Dyaya, son of Mosse (1224-1238).	

¹ See Appendix IV., pp. 252, &c.

Josceus, son of Salomon (1240).
 Josceus le Prestre (Lond.) (1234).
 Josceus of Kant. (1234).
 Josceus of Newport (1232).
 Josceus of Wylton (1240).
 Leo (Episcopus) of York (1237).
 Levy, son of Salomon (1237).
 Manser, son of Benedict (1238).
 Manser, son of Benjamin of Lincoln (1239).

Manser, son of Ursell of Winton (1237).
 Mosse, son of Isaac of Huntingdon (1226).
 Naykin, son of Samuel (1228).
 Samuel, son of Mosse (1237).
 Samuel, son of Salomon (1240).
 Samuel of Hertford (1233).
 Samuel Mutun (1238).
 Samuel de Fisinges.

Of the Jews whose names are thus enrolled some were well known throughout England, others bear titles more or less official, three are women; while a number of these money-lenders figure in other parts of this book.

A list may now be given of the Cambridge debtors, limiting the selection to those residing in the town:—

Nigel le Seler.
 Eustace Elcorn.
 Henry, son of Hugo the Merchant.
 Peter le Hunt.
 John Hubert.
 Alan Punch.
 John Cogging.
 Hervey Coging.
 Ivo Quarel.
 Robert of St. Edmund of Cambridge.
 Robert, son of Gregory of Cambridge.
 Simon de Kampes in Cantabrig.
 Hervey of Cambridge.
 Hervey, son of Eustace of Cambridge.
 Adam, son of Eustace.
 Samuel, son of Hervey.
 Hugo, son of Ernisius Baker.
 Walter, son of John son of Bernard.
 Michael Malerb.
 Richard Carol'.

Robert Seman of Cambridge.
 William Hiton.
 Thomas Plose.
 John Camping.
 Mabillia Doig in Cambridge.
 Ralph the Cordwainer in Cambridge.
 Simon Ping in Cambridge.
 Everard, son of Fulk Crocheman.
 Odo Burnard.
 Baldwin, son of Baldwin Blaungernon.
 John Anure.
 Anger, son of Edric of Cambridge.
 Philip de Stanton.
 Philip, son of John de Stanton.
 Wymer de Thornton.
 John, son of Alur' of Cambridge.
 Nicholas de Vavasour.
 Martin Brithnod of Cambridge.
 Peter, son of Richard of Barnwell.
 Simon, "filius Margeri de Cantabrig."
 John, son of Maurice Ruffus.

To these might be added the names of Richard, son of Osbert of Newnham, Robert, a freeman of Madingley, John of Berton, John, son of Adam of Berton, Peter of Berton,

and many others of neighbouring villages—some of whom (such as John of Barton) were intimately connected with the town of Cambridge, and perhaps residents therein.

Many of the names given in this list are those of well-known Cambridge families; they may be found again and again in contemporary rolls and deeds, and with several of them we have met or shall meet in these pages.

With regard to the debts themselves, it will be noticed that there are no very large sums involved, but that in some cases the amounts are quite small. It will also be noticed how largely (nominally at any rate) corn was the subject of part of the bargaining.

In the year 1227 there are interesting references both in the *Charter Rolls*¹ and in the *Close Rolls*,² to a gift to one John de Gyse, who was attached to the household of H. de Burgh. This had reference to two stone houses, which were formerly the property of the well-known Moses of Cambridge, and were situate in the parish of St. Olave, London. They had escheated to the King for a debt of Isaac, son of the said Moses, of whose misfortunes mention³ has already been made.

In the *Close Rolls*⁴ for the year 1231, there are records of certain grants made by the King to Alan, son of Warin, who was then accompanying His Majesty on an expedition into Wales. Alan's property, which is mortgaged to Milo of Cambridge, a Jew of Winchester, is not to be seised while he is on active service. Again, in 1234,⁵ when the same soldier ("qui profectus est in servicium domini regis ad partes Brittannie") is similarly protected from Miro of Cambridge, doubtless the same Jew.

In 1232 Henry III. established in what is now Chancery

¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, i. p. 55.

² *Close Rolls*, 12 Hen. III., p. 2*

³ See p. 139.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, 15 Hen. III., pp. 543 and 557.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18 Hen. III., p. 449.

Familiar
Names.

Stone
Houses.

A Debtor
on active
service.

Lane a *Domus Conversorum*,¹ a home for the reception of converts from Judaism to Christianity. For the maintenance thereof the King gave 700 marks annually. Among the early inmates of the institution, we learn from the *Close Rolls*² of 1234, was one Isabella of Cambridge. Except the mandate for her admission and for the usual provision on her behalf, nothing is known about this converted Jewess. Nor, until some three and a half centuries later,³ do we meet with any other Cambridge name connected with the *Domus Conversorum*.

In this year 1234, we read in the *Close Rolls*⁴ that a mandate was issued to the Justices of the Jews on behalf of John of Herleton, in connexion with certain debts which he owed to Isaac Bigelin of Cambridge, Elias Blundus, and Solomon "Episcopus," Jews of London. The name of Isaac Bigelin⁵ has already come before us in connexion with the collection of tallages, and it occurs⁶ in two or three other documents; one of which, in the *Fine Rolls* for 1245,⁷ speaks of him as deceased, and of his debts (to a Cambridgeshire man named Ivo Quarel), as being in the King's hands.

It may be parenthetically remarked, that, under date 1235, Matthew Paris⁸ records some curious financial dealings between the Prior of Barnwell and certain Italian (*Coursini*) merchants.

At the marriage of Henry III. to Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, in January 1236, a grant and assignment was made to her, by way of dower,⁹ of certain cities and towns with which the Queens of England were usually endowed. Among these boroughs

¹ W. J. Hardy, *Rolls Court*; C. T. Martin, "*Domus Conversorum*," *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. i. pp. 15-24.

² *Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III., p. 441.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III., p. 379.

⁶ e.g., *Fine Rolls* (ed. C. Roberts), 30 Hen. III., m. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i. 444; Cooper, *Annals*, i. 45.

⁸ *Hist. Angl.*, p. 286.

³ See p. 210.

⁵ See p. 140.

⁹ Cooper, *Annals*, p. 143.

was Cambridge; and it will be seen¹ afterwards not only that the Jews generally suffered through the disturbances which arose out of Eleanor's unpopularity, but that the influence of the Queen led to the removal of the Jews from Cambridge and other cities some fifteen years before their Expulsion from the rest of England.

On 8th April 1237, *The Calendar of the Patent Rolls*² informs us that a Commission was issued to Dyaya, son of "Magister de Cantebrigg," and to certain other Jews, to assess generally upon all Jews of the land having chattels, except Elias "le Evesk" and Isaac son of Josceus of London, the tallage of 3000 marks which the said Jews owe to the King, to be paid within a month of this instant Easter. When they have made their assessment and reduced it to writing, they are to deliver that writing to Aaron of York and his fellows, whom the King has appointed to make the distraint for the said tallage, and to collect and receive the same. Jewish Assessors.

This Dyaya (or Eleazar) was a Jew of considerable importance, as may be seen from the fact that he was one of the representatives³ chosen to attend the *Parliamentum Judaicum*, held at Worcester in 1241; an account of which will be given in a later paragraph.

From an entry in *The Calendar of the Exchequer of the Jews*⁴ in the year 1270, it would appear that the property of "Dieie, son of Master," was in the King's hands—the allusion being to a tenement at Cambridge.

With reference to the name of his father "Magister de Cantebrigg," we have already, in dealing with "Master Benjamin" of Cambridge, quoted Mr. Joseph Jacobs's remark that the title "implies something more reverend than money-lending"; and we may here add Dr. Tovey's comment⁵ on another Jew who is described as "filius Magistri de London": "*Magister de London*, I con- The term 'Magister.'

¹ See p. 188.

² *Patent Rolls*, 1237, p. 178.

³ See p. 87.

⁴ Rigg, i. p. 234.

⁵ *Anglia Judaica*, p. 34.

ceive, denotes some great *Rabbi* that was singularly eminent in the London synagogues of that time, and was sufficiently known to the Christians by the name of the *Rabbi of London*." This title has, however, been treated at length in a former part of this work (see p. 55).

Who the eminent Jew of Cambridge—the father of Dyaya—was, is not known.

The *Parliamentum Judaicum*¹ of 1241 was mentioned a few sentences back; it may be well to quote Prynne's description of it. That learned, but acrid, writer says: "In the 25th year of Henry the 3, I find this Writ to several Sheriffs, to summon 6 of the richest Jews out of all counties and towns wherein the Jews resided to come to treat with the King at Worcester, as well concerning his as their benefit, and to seize as well their bodies as their chattels, if they made default herein." Then follows a copy of the writ, which was addressed to the Sheriffs of various counties, including Cambridge. The "Parliament" was constrained to submit unto a tax of twenty thousand marks imposed on them by the King, to be paid that year. The names of the Jews appointed to levy it in all places are given by Prynne; those chosen for Cambridge are as follows:—

Jewish M. Ps. for Cambridge.	Isaac, son of Samuel;	Josce of Wilton;
	Jacob, son of Deulesaut;	Dyaye " <i>filius Magistri</i> ";
	Aaron, son of Isaac Blund;	Levi, son of Solomon.

The writ to the Cambridge Commissioners was tested the 14th of May, and a writ of assistance of concurrent date was directed to the Sheriff. The commissioners had power to seize the wives and children of the parties charged with this tallage.

The six Cambridge Jews were, of course, representative men, whose names are met with in various financial and other affairs.

Three years later, in 1244, another and heavier levy was

¹ See the separate chapter on this subject, pp. 83, &c.

laid upon the Israelites: 60,000 marks being demanded. In the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* for Holy Trinity term, 28 Henry III., there is a list of payments on account of this tallage; from which we find that the contribution of those living in Cambridge amounted to £58, 8s. A heavy Tallage.

The *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*¹—from which a quotation has just been made—are very full for 1244–45, and from them a good deal of information of various kinds may be gathered. Examples follow:— The Plea Rolls.

Manser (or Manasser) of Huntingdon² was one of the Chirographers of the Bedford Chest, and several records tell of a dispute between him and one Peytevin. As the quarrel had nothing to do with Cambridge, its details need not be referred to; but the outcome is expressed in the following words: “Manser is in mercy, and let him be removed from his office, and another chosen in his place.” Later on, we shall on two or three occasions come across this deposed official, or another of the same name, and we shall find him figuring in the Cambridge list³ at the time of the Expulsion of the Jews. An Official deposed.

Some forty years back, in the reign of King John, a family living in Shelford had interesting dealings with the Jews, which are recorded under date 1204; ⁴ in 1244 we learn from the Jewish Rolls that “John de Schelford paid certain sums of money—on account of a fine of £40—to Samuel, son of Isaac, and the other heirs of Moses, son of Isaac.” ⁵ On another occasion ⁶ John de Shelford paid the instalment through Elias Episcopus. John de Shelford.

John de Shelford was probably a member of the well-known family, the Le Moynes, of the village near Cam-

¹ Edited by Mr. J. M. Rigg, M.A.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 69, 76, 106, 107, &c.

³ B. L. Abrahams, *Transactions J. H. S.*, vol. ii. p. 88.

⁴ See p. 135.

⁵ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 62.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

bridge from which he took his name. He had dealings privately and officially with the Israelites. At one time he held high office¹ in the Exchequer of the Jews; while the following notice, issued from the Cambridge Court in 1270 and recorded in the Rolls² (doubtless shortly after his death) shows that he had had private financial connexions with the money-lenders.

“Mandate to the Sheriff, that he cause proclamation to be made in the synagogues of the Jews, &c., that any Jew, &c., that may have claim to make against John Le Moyne, of Schelford, whether on account of his own debt, or, &c., is to be before, &c., with chirograph, &c., to account, &c. The Sheriff sends word, as well in Latin as in Hebrew, that the proclamation is made, and no Jew makes any claim.”

Elias Episcopus,³ through whom the money due to the descendants of Isaac of Norwich was paid “in the 29th year of Henry III.,” was a leading Jew in the reign of that monarch. Matthew Paris says that his “sirname was Bishop,” and the historian is probably right in thus treating the word “Episcopus” as a patronymic; for, although at one time, and perhaps even at that time, it was an official title, yet the Elias with whom we are now dealing belonged to a family many of whom are styled Episcopus. He held several important offices; for instance, he was one of the Chirographers of London, and was (with his colleagues, Christian and Jewish) fined and deposed from that office in 1244. He had also been appointed by the King in the previous year to succeed Aaron of York as “Presbyter of all the Jews of England”; he held this office for thirteen years, being deposed on 20th July 1257. Shortly afterwards he was converted to Christianity, and little is known of his subsequent career—unless he was the Elias le Eveske, whose name occurs among the Jews of London at the time of the Expulsion.

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 50 Hen. III., m. 40; Madox, *Hist. of Exchequer*, p. 159.

² Rigg, i. p. 258.

³ See pp. 30, &c.

Elias Episcopus has been confused with Master Elias,¹ the son of the celebrated Master Moses of London, and the mistaken identity has led to great confusion in the records of the Jewish families of that age. The Master Elias. following extract from the *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, under date January 8, 1259, makes the distinction quite evident: "Gift, for a fine made with the King, by the advice of the lords of the Council, to Master Elias, son of Master Moses, a Jew of London, of all the lands which Elias le Eveske, formerly a Jew of London, held in the city of London and in the town of Northampton on the day on which he was converted from Jewish pravity to the Christian faith, by which conversion his lands escheated to the King," &c. Much more might be recorded of these important namesakes, who have been so hopelessly confused together; but as the subject does not especially concern the question of the Jews of Cambridge, it must suffice to point out the unfortunate error.

There was another Elias le Eveske of Hereford,³ from whom also Elias Episcopus of London must be distinguished.

Simon, son of Isaac of Norwich, the head of the family, to whom the money was paid by John of Shelford and through Elias Episcopus, was a Jew of considerable standing in his community, having financial Simon, son of Isaac. dealings⁴ in the eastern counties, in York, in Devon, and in various parts of England. Such men as Isaac of Warwick and Josce, son of Copin, acted as his attorneys. But, limiting ourselves to the Cambridge Court, an example of his financial proceedings may be seen in one of his actions against Osbert,⁵ Prior of the Augustinians at Royston. The case was commenced at Huntingdon, but the Prior, making default of appearance, was ordered to answer The Prior of Royston. later on at Cambridge touching the default and the main plea of debt. After an adjournment, the Sheriff,

¹ See pp. 4, &c.

² *Charter Rolls*, 1259, p. 16.

³ *Papers, A.-J. H. E.*, p. 51, note.

⁴ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i., Index.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Index.

being commanded to put the Prior by better pledges, returned that he would not find such pledges, and he had therefore distrained him by his lands and chattels.

This same Osbert,¹ Prior of Royston, will engage our attention later on; meantime we may turn once more to another Augustinian Priory, the celebrated monastery at Barnwell, in the suburbs of Cambridge.

The Prior of Barnwell had received certain lands from Roger Giffard, who was indebted to the Israelites. *The Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* are wanting from 1245 to 1252; but during this period we learn from Mr. J. W. Clark's volume, *Liber Memorandorum*,² &c., that the Prior discharged, by half-yearly payments, the debt with which the lands had been encumbered. "Et sic quietus est Prior" (1251).

Turning back to the *Plea Rolls*³ of 1244-45, there are records in the Cambridge Court telling of a summons by Henry de Colville against Philip de Stanton for quittance as to Aaron le Blund for £40, whereof he should, and does not, acquit him, to his damage, £20. Philip, at an adjourned meeting, acknowledges that he is bound to acquit Henry as to Aaron of £40, and as to Aaron's son, Samuel, of the £20, for which he was beholden to Samuel by reason that Philip did not acquit him of the £40, whereupon judgment, that Philip be in mercy, &c.

Aaron le Blund and Samuel his son were Jews of considerable financial standing, as Aaron's father Isaac had been before him. Isaac, as we have seen, had been one of the assessors⁴ of tallages in Cambridge; and Aaron, as we have also noted, was a representative⁵ of our town in the "Parliamentum Judaicum" held at Worcester in 1241. Samuel seems to have settled in London, where he died in 1270.

¹ See pp. 163-4.

² *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, p. 137.

³ Rigg, i. pp. 70, 91, &c.

⁴ See p. 140.

⁵ See p. 86.

In an action—perhaps in the same suit—recorded in the Calendar of the Feet of Fines,¹ under date 1240, Matilda, the wife of Henry de Colville, is joined with her husband against Philip de Stanton; while a generation later, in 1270,² we find Philip de Colville, son and heir of Henry, distrained by the Sheriff of Cambridge-shire in connexion with a Jewish debt of £50.

Yet again, three years afterwards, in 1273,³ we find the affair was not settled, for we read in the rolls of the Jewish Exchequer: "Be it had in remembrance that Henry de Coleville of Oxford's son, Philip de Coleville of Cambridge, is to be distrained for £50 to the use of the King on account of his father as recorded in the Memoranda in the 54th year of King Henry."

The De Colvilles held the manor of Histon, near Cambridge, for several generations, and they had property in the University town itself.⁴ It is curious to notice that Henry is said to be "of Oxford," while Philip (the son) is described as "of Cambridge."

Under the same date (1244-45) and in the same Rolls,⁵ there is a Cambridge record of an "acknowledgment by Moses, son of Jacob Crespin, and Isaac, son of Josce Le Prestre, in favour of William de Leicester and Alice de Cotes, his wife, and their heirs, of quittance as to them and their heirs of all debts," &c.

Both Moses⁶ and Isaac⁷ belonged to Jewish families, whose names appear for generations in the transactions of Judaism. Isaac was converted while the Jewry was in the hands of Prince Edward.

William of Leicester was formerly bailiff⁸ of Bedford; he is afterwards described as belonging to Gamlingay.

¹ *Pedes Finium* (ed. Walter Rye), C.A.S., xxvi. p. 23.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 269.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 61.

⁴ *Hundred Rolls*, ii. p. 364.

⁵ Rigg, i. p. 108.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59; when Moses was in prison.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, &c.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 96, 108, 158, and 176.

Later on, in 1268 (after the troubles connected with the Barons' War, to which reference is about to be made), "William of Leycester of Gamelingeye," as he is called to distinguish him from another "William of Leycester of Teversham," again is summoned in the Cambridge Court. On this occasion it is at the instance of Prince Edward, who then owned the Jewry, and who by his attorney endeavoured to obtain a debt owing to Abraham, son of Vives. The Sheriff was ordered to distrain the said William by his lands and chattels (some of which were supposed to be in Cambridge); but it was reported that he "has nought whereby he may be distrained, for that he is *disinherited*."

About this period—on 1st May 1248—we learn from Prynn¹ (though by mistake he speaks of Canterbury instead of Cambridge), that a writ tested at Windsor was directed to the Justices assigned for the keeping of the Jews, stating that the Jews dwelling in Cambridge had delivered to the royal wardrobe (*in garde-roba regis*) at St. Edmund's Bury, on the Monday after Ash-Wednesday, five marks, which they had promised the King on his coming to Cambridge. He therefore commands them not to distrain those Jews for that sum.

Prynn also quotes from the *Fine Rolls* of the next year (12th Sept. 1249) another writ, issued by the King and tested at Merton, requiring the Sheriff of the county to have at the Exchequer, on a specified day, 60s. of new tallage, and £4, 9s. 5d. of the old tallage, assessed upon the Jews of Cambridge.

The Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews for the Easter term of the 37th year of King Henry III. (1253) are extant, and contain two or three records relating to Cambridge.

John le Rus (a well-known citizen² of Cambridge) offered himself against Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge,

¹ *Close Rolls*, 32 Hen. III., pars 1, m. 10; *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 61.

² *Outside the Trumpington Gates*, C.A.S. Trans. vol. xlv., ch. 5, &c.

touching a plea of account.¹ Isaac, like his father, seems to have been resident in London, and did not put in an appearance. His "mainpernors" were, A Cambridge Citizen. therefore, "in mercy." These pledges were three influential Jews, Isaac of Senlis, Josce of Wilton, and Aaron le Blund—all of whom we meet elsewhere.

There is a curious reference in the Barnwell records² to John le Rus's intercession on behalf of, and his generosity towards, the Friars of the Sack in Cambridge. He was the owner of a water-mill in Milne Street, which was pulled down by his nephew, Hugh le Rus.

There is a rather elaborate account of an inquest³ made in the county of Cambridge by command of the King, touching a starr by which the celebrated Aaron Aaron of York. of York acknowledged that he had demised to Adam de Bayllole the manor of Wyk'. But as the town of Cambridge was not concerned, the account need not further be referred to.

The same Aaron of York, by Sanelot his "essoiner," brought an action⁴ against John de Scalariis in respect to certain lands in the neighbourhood of Cambridge; but for a similar reason this case only calls for a passing remark.⁵ With his pledge, Saulet Mutun, we shall meet a little later.

In the year 1255, a mandate as to a tallage⁶ was addressed to various Sheriffs, among others to the Sheriff of Cambridge. We are informed that Moses of Clare, Aaron le Blund, and Isaac of Senlis (de Pledges for a Tallage. Sancto Licio), were officially responsible for the collection of the money demanded from the Jews of Cambridge, Holm, &c.

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 119.

² *Liber Memorandorum* (ed. J. W. Clark, M.A.), pp. 160 and 218.

³ Rigg, i. p. 125.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. p. 126.

⁵ It may be added that the same parties had financial dealings in the same court some twenty years later. *Ibid.*, ii. 126.

⁶ *Patent Rolls*, 39 Hen. III., m., 2 dorso.

These three prominent Jews we meet with on various occasions.

We now consider another Roll of Debts¹ in connexion with the Cambridge Chest of Chirographers, preserved in the Record Office. It is dated in the 46th year of Henry III. The roll is printed in full in the Appendix;² but we may here give the names of the Cambridge Jews and their debtors.

The following is a list of the money-lenders:—

Abraham, son of Benedict.	Josce, son of Abraham.
Abraham, son of Milo.	Josce, son of Manser.
Aaron, son of Isaac.	Josce, son of Salomon of Wilton.
Aaron le Blund, of London.	Josce de Kant.
Auncer, son of Josce.	Josce de Neuport.
Avigey, widow.	Leo, son of Isaac.
Chera, daughter of Abraham.	Manser, son of Bonamy.
Deudon de Caleis.	Maunsell, son of Abraham.
Deulecres, son of Dyaye.	Milo, "filius Magistri."
Dyaye, "filius Magistri, de Clou'n'."	Salomon, son of Josce de Cantuar.
Isaac, son of Samuel.	Samuel, son of Mosse of Lincoln.
Jacob, son of Deulesaut.	Samuel, of Rising.
Jacob, son of Isaac.	
Josce, son of Aaron.	

In this list, as in that given on p. 145, the names of a number of Jews who figure in various transactions already described may be noticed.

Among the corresponding names of their debtors are very few of the inhabitants of Cambridge; most of these borrowers come from neighbouring villages, such as Shelford, Madingley, Quy, Sawston, Swavesey Wilbraham, Haslingfield, Horningsey, Whittlesford, &c. A few, such as Peter, son of Richard de Bernewell, and Philip, son of John de Stanton, are common to both lists.

¹ "Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer," *Jews Rolls* in the Public Record Office, 24^o.

² See Appendix V., pp. 276-9.

It is curious, when this list and the still longer list on pp. 145-6 are considered, and when it is remembered how many thousands of transactions took place between Jewish financiers and the inhabitants of Cambridge and the neighbourhood, that there should not remain a number of starrs or quit-claims recording these dealings. The present writer, however, only knows of one such deed; and the original of that has been lost. He ventures to quote from another volume¹ an account of this interesting record:—

“In the Treasury of Peterhouse there was preserved till lately a document² which was of unique interest in Cambridge, because there was attached to it a Hebrew quit-claim, recalling the days, before the Expulsion, when so many citizens had recourse to Jewish money-lenders. Fortunately, although the deed is now lost, a photograph of it is in existence, and this, by the kindness of late Mr. J. W. Clark, Registry of the University of Cambridge, is here reproduced. The document, in legal phraseology, tells how Thomas de Ho, clerk, granted to Peter de Wilburham and Sabina his wife, for the sum of twenty shillings, a certain messuage with the buildings thereon, &c., in the town of Cambridge, in the parish of St. Peter-without-Trumptonegate, between the land which was formerly Simon Asselof’s on the one part and that which formerly belonged to Hugh le Rus, the son of Absolon, on the other part; which messuage indeed contained in length 42 ells from the Great Street to the grantor’s croft, which is connected with the same tenement. There was to be paid annually, in half-yearly instalments, 3 shillings to the Nuns of the House of St. Radegund of Grenecroft and two pairs of white gloves to the representatives of Thomas de Ho, who promised to maintain the agreement against all people, Christians or Jews, and who affixed his seal in the presence of certain witnesses—John le Rus, Reginald Sherewind, John Paternoster, Alan Basilie, Ebor’ [Everard the clerk], and others. Affixed to the deed is the following Jewish quit-claim:—

¹ *Outside the Trumpington Gates: A Chapter in the Intimate History of Mediæval Cambridge*, by the Rev. Dr. Stokes, pp. 19 and 20.

² Peterhouse, Cambridge, Treasury, Situs Collegii, A 26.

אני החתום מטה מודה שטומש דהוא פטור הוא ויורשיו ממני ומיורשיו הן מחובות וערביות מבריות עולם עד משיינן שנת ארבעים ותשע למלכות אדונינו המלך הנרי בן המלך יוהן ואם נמצא חלק בשמי ובשם טומש הנק' עד הזמן הנק' יהיה כקנין ומה שכתבתי חתמתי אברהם בן שמואל:

"A translation may be added: 'I, the undersigned, do acknowledge that Thomas de Ho is quit he and his heirs from me and my heirs both from debts and liabilities from the creation of the world to (the festival of) All Saints (in the) year 49 of the reign of our lord the King Henry son of the King John, and if there shall be found a counterpart in my name and in the name of the aforesaid Thomas as to a previous period it shall be as nothing, and what I have written I have signed. Abraham son of Samuel.'

"Thomas de Ho, whose seal is appended, and who owned other property in this parish, was a man of some position in the county—'Thomas de Hoo, Chevaler,' he is called in one record.¹ Sabina was then the wife of Peter de Wilburham; the neighbours were respectively an eminent lawyer, Simon de Ascellis² (who dwelt³ in the stone-house of the le Rus family, and who subsequently entered the Priory of Barnwell), and Hugh le Rus (who was a junior member of the family just mentioned, and whose actual parentage is hereby discovered). The witnesses are met again and again in deeds of the period; while Abraham ben Shemuel⁴ appears in certain remarkable transactions recorded in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* both at the beginning and at the end of the reign of Henry III. It is to be hoped that there may be a recovery of this solitary survivor of the thousands of Jewish stars and quit-claims that changed hands in early Cambridge days—which after its long sleep of six or seven centuries awoke—to be lost!"

As there is a gap in the existing Jewish Exchequer Rolls from 1253 to 1266, we may now proceed to consider the

¹ *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandum*, ed. J. W. Clark, M.A., p. 305.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 127, 128.

³ Peterhouse Treasury, Situs Collegii, A, 9.

⁴ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, pp. 19, 134; supposing these two references to be the same.



DEED, WITH QUIT-CLAIM (1265) ATTACHED

From Peterhouse (Cambridge) Treasury

troublous times of the Barons' Wars, which arose out of the unpopularity of the King's party. The Jews naturally suffered considerably amidst all the confusion, their property being frequently destroyed and the local chests seized.

A Gap in the Records.

The position of the town of Cambridge and its proximity to the Isle of Ely rendered it peculiarly liable to assaults; and we find from numerous notices in the Chroniclers that the citizens generally, and the Jews especially, suffered considerably in person and property. During the year 1266 several attacks¹ were made upon the town, a band of outlaws, or "Disinherited," under Sir John Deyville, doing great damage. He seized the Jews, as well as certain rich citizens, and carried them away into the neighbouring isle, demanding arbitrary ransom.

The Barons' War.

The situation is thus described in an official document² of later date: "In the 51st year of the reign of King Henry, the realm being then in a troublous state, the enemies of the King, who were in the Isle of Ely, came to Cambridge, and did carry away the Cambridge Chirograph-Chest there being, with divers charters of the Jews, to the Isle of Ely."

The Chest carried away from Cambridge.

The King made various efforts to remedy this unfortunate state of affairs, proceeding in person to Cambridge with a strong force. He endeavoured to alleviate the wrongs both of the loyal citizens and of the persecuted Jews.

On the one hand, orders were issued granting extension of time to certain townsmen who were indebted to the Jews. Thus Reginald Sherwynd³ of Cambridge, on account of the losses which he had sustained in the late disturbances, was allowed a reasonable period for the payment of his debts. This citizen,⁴ who

Royal Extension of Time.

¹ *Ecclesie de Bernewelle Liber Memorandum* (ed. J. W. Clark, M.A.), pp. 122, &c.; Cooper, *Annals*, i. p. 49; Rishanger, *Chronicon S. Albani*, p. 44.

² *Annales Waverlienses*, 222; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 166; Cooper's *Annals*, i. 49.

³ *Close Rolls*, 49 Hen. III., m. 10; *Baker MS.*, xxv. p. 18.

⁴ *Gray's St. Radegund*, p. 142.

lived "next the churchyard of St. John," and had property in the parish of St. Botolph, was bailiff¹ of Cambridge in the year 1271. He died, however, shortly afterwards, for the *Hundred Rolls*² speaks of his widow, "Elena Shere-wind," and her son William, who inherited his father's property.

On the other hand, the King issued letters patent,³ setting forth the injury the Jews had lately received in the disturbances throughout England, and commanding the bailiffs and good men of Cambridge to make public proclamation throughout the town that no one, under peril of life and members, should damage, molest, or aggrieve the Jews in their persons or property. They were also directed to maintain, protect, and defend the Jews, their lands, property, houses, possessions, and goods, both within the town and without, as much as they could.

Another writ,⁴ issued from Westminster on 24th January 1268, read as follows :—

Jewish Charters restored. "Henry, by the grace of God, &c., to the Chirographers, Christian and Jewish, of the Chirograph-Chest of Cambridge, greeting :—We command you that all the charters which, during the late disorders of our realm, were carried from our town of Cambridge in our Chirograph-Chest to the Isle of Ely by the Disinherited, who were then in the said Isle, you recover, in whose hands soever you may be able to discover them, and place them in our Chirograph-Chest at Cambridge, if you may be satisfied that the said Charters were in the said Chest before it was carried into the said Isle by the said Disinherited at the time aforesaid."

This was witnessed by Sir Robert de Fulham, who was one of the Justices of the Jews.

We have an echo of similar attacks upon Jewish pro-

¹ Maitland's *Township and Borough*, p. 135.

² *Hundred Rolls*, ii. pp. 373, 375, 376.

³ *Patent Rolls*, 50 Hen. III., m. 21; *Baker MS.*, xxv. p. 18; *Cooper, Annals*, i. p. 49.

⁴ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, pp. 76, 77.

perty in other towns in a suit¹ which was prosecuted at the Cambridge Court. Moses of Clare, a Jew of Lincoln, appeared with chirograph, tally, &c. Henry of Whaddon said that a chirograph of £4 for yearly fee rent (dated 1262) was in the Lincoln Chest at the time when the chest was burnt. He put himself upon the Christian and Jewish chirographers, and so did the Jew. At the inquest the chirographers said that it was. As the said Henry did not come, the Sheriff of Cambridgeshire was commanded to cause him to come on the octave of Holy Trinity to have his judgment and record.

Chests
rified in
other
Towns.

This Henry de Whaddon, who was the owner of many houses in Cambridge at the date of the Hundred Rolls (1279), is doubtless the same person as Henry de Quaddon,² who, according to the Jewish records of 1268, was somewhat similarly sued at Cambridge by Saer, son of Jacob. Again the Jew had his recovery, and Henry was in mercy.

Another
Cambridge
Citizen.

Of the Jews mentioned in these cases, Saer, son of Jacob, appeared by attorney; and Moses of Clare is said at this date to belong to Lincoln, though later on, in a case concerning a tenement in Cambridge in which he was involved, we shall find that he has become a resident of Sudbury.

In dealing with the assaults upon the Jews at Cambridge, it was mentioned that there had been loss of life as well as of property. The following very interesting case may refer to one of these fatal attacks.

A Jew slain.

In the Holy Trinity term of the year 1266—an ecclesiastic whom we have already met, and who seems to have been involved in various financial difficulties—

“Osbert, Prior of Royston,³ attached to answer the King touching £7, 12s., in which by charter found outside the Cambridge Chirograph Chest he and his Convent are bound to Saulot Mutun, *Jew slain*, comes and acknowledges the charter, and avers that he paid

The Prior of
Royston
again.

¹ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 41; *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 179.

² Rigg, i. pp. 174 and 199.

³ Rigg, i. p. 138.

24s. 8d. of the said money by Jacob of Hertford, cellarer of the said house, and Richard de Litlington, his canon. He craves that he be suffered to prove the said payment by Christians and Jews. And whereas the Justices are not sure whether such proof be admissible in regard of a charter that was found whole, a day is assigned him, to wit, Michaelmas quindene, to hear the answer of the Justices, and to do as the Court shall direct."

About the Jew, Saulot Mutun, of whose death by violence we have so brief a record, we know little—though we have
A Jew's Family. seen¹ that he acted as *essoiner* to Aaron of York in certain transactions at Cambridge. To his widow and children, and to various members of the Mutun family, however, we have curious references.²

The widow, Milla Mutun, appears to have been somewhat fickle; but she, or her property, seems to have been attractive, for the following London record tells
The Widow. us :—

"Be it had in remembrance, that whereas Master Samuel of Bolum, and Milla, widow of Saulot Motun, were at variance, for the said Samuel claimed the said Milla to wife by reason of contract and commerce that were between them, which claim Milla resisted, for that no such contract and commerce could lawfully make a marriage; and whereas debate ensued among the Masters of the Jewish Law whether the said marriage might hold good or no, and the said Masters came before the Justices and pronounced that the said marriage was null and void; therefore it is granted to the said Milla, that of her chattels, which the said Samuel averred that she might not dispose of without his consent, she have free administration, to do with the same as she may be minded."

With reference to her property, it may be pointed out that a starr³ enrolled in 1267–68 informs us that Aaron, the
The Son. son of Vives, an influential Jew, of whom we shall have much to say, and who was the guardian⁴ of

¹ See p. 157.

² Rigg, i. pp. 152, 154, 163, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴ Aaron, son of Vives, was appointed guardian to "the son and heir of Saulotus, son of Samuel of Canterbury, by the grant of Edmund,

her son Bencio, made to Milla, widow of Saulot Motun, a grant of four ells of land in his courtyard, by way of relief, as also he assigned to her divers of Saulot's credits for the same purpose. Indeed, other records show that Aaron was very diligent in his duties as guardian.

There are several references to the widow and her property, but they need not all be detailed here, as some have no special reference to Cambridge, though the circumstances are often very peculiar. It may be mentioned that one of the stars¹ upon which the suit turned is said to have been stolen in the time of the embroilment of the realm, while the Earl of Gloucester was in the city of London. In this affair of the year 1263, Benedict of Lincoln² acted as attorney for the Jewess, who is here called "*Muriel*, widow of *Samuel* Mutun, of Royston."

These references to the family and to the property of Saulot Mutun may be illustrated by quoting one record of a case which occupied the attention of the Courts³ for some years. It shows how keenly the agents of the King watched the financial affairs of the Jews. The record is as follows:—

"Sabina, wife that was of Robert Hubert, Agnes de Barton, and John Portehores were attached to answer the King touching divers goods and chattels, that did aforetime belong to Saulot Mutun, and ought to have come into the King's hands after the death of the said Saulot, and whereof the King claims from the said Sabina 10 librates, and from the said Agnes £10, and from the said John £14, which they unlawfully detain against the King. The said Sabina, Agnes, and John come and say that the King claims the said chattels from them unlawfully, for that

brother of the King." See the *Close Rolls*, 1307, p. 510, where Canterbury is apparently a mistake for Cambridge, at which place the action referred to is said to have been tried.

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 163.

² A later record (*Exchequer of the Jews*, Rot. 19, m. 5) speaks of "*Muriel* the widow of Saulot Mutun" as residing at Lincoln.

³ See the *Exchequer Rolls of the Jews*, Rot. 17, m. 2; Rot. 18, m. 11 (printed above from Rigg's *Select Pleas*, pp. 85, 86), and Rot. 19, m. 5.

they have nought of any chattels that did ever belong to the deceased Saulot; but certain chattels formerly belonging to the said Saulot they had at one time in their keeping, and delivered them to Robert de Fulham, formerly Justice, &c., and Aaron, son of Vives, Jew, by mandate of the said Robert; and this they offer to verify by the country. Therefore the Sheriff is commanded to cause to come before, &c., twelve Christians and six Jews, to recognise, &c., on Easter quindene, &c., unless in the meantime a Justice shall come into those parts.

"And because the Sheriff was commanded to distrain the Prior of Royston, Abraham Bishop, and Muriel, wife that was of Saulot Mutun, to answer the King touching divers debts, and the said Sheriff made no return thereof, nor did distrain them, therefore he, the Sheriff, to wit, Walter de Shelfangre, is in mercy. And afterwards, by award of the Justices, the said Prior has a day to answer the King touching the premises, the octave of St. Michael."

Of the sets of property¹ here in dispute, the latter were apparently situate in Royston, and need not be here further referred to; but the former were in Cambridge. Robert and Sabina Hubert (and their son John), and Agnes de Barton and (her son) John Porthors, were all well-to-do Cambridge citizens, whose names occur in various local deeds, such as those preserved in the archives of Jesus College.² They were among the benefactors of the Nunnery of St. Radegund. John Porthors lived opposite Holy Sepulchre Church in a stone house,³ which had doubtless formerly belonged to the Jews, and which, as we shall see, was purchased by Robert de Fulbourn, Chancellor of the University, and by him given to the Canons of Barnwell Priory. Aaron, son

Jewish
Stone
House in
Cambridge.

¹ Another later transaction in connexion with the financial affairs of Saulot Mutun, Aaron, son of Vives, acting as his guardian, may be mentioned without going into details, because of the name of one of the parties concerned—Thomas of Wesenham (see Rigg, ii. p. 22). This individual was probably connected with the family of John de Wesenham, the well-known Bedell and Stationer, who so frequently figures in early University documents.

² Gray's *St. Radegund*, see Index.

³ *Liber Memorandum* (ed. J. W. Clark, M.A.), pp. 285, 297, &c.

of Vives, was, as we have noticed,¹ the efficient guardian of this branch of the Mutun family. We shall meet him again² in various financial transactions, as well as at the time of the Expulsion of the Jews.

We turn to Abraham Mutun, who was doubtless a member of the same family. He figures rather unfortunately in the Cambridge records of this date (1272).³ One William de Burgh had owed to him certain money, and Abraham had quarrels with the said William's tenants, Nicholas Hereward and Geoffrey of Sawston. Nicholas complained in Court that whereas he had paid the said Abraham a debt of five marks in which the said William was bounden to the said Jew by his charter, and had in his possession the sealed part of the said charter withdrawn from the Chirograph Chest, the said Jew nevertheless unlawfully detained against him the middle part (or the moiety) of the said charter, and would not surrender it to the said Nicholas. In the other, Geoffrey complained that Abraham and two other men

Another
Member of
the Mutun
Family.

"came on the Monday next after the feast of St. Katherine in the fifty-fifth year (1271) to his house in Sauseton and broke his doors and took and led away four stots and two oxen, value 40s., and on Tuesday next broke the said Geoffrey's fold and drove off 106 ewes, value £6, 16s. . . . and kept the said cattle until the following Tuesday, when the said Geoffrey paid 30s., which they demanded to the use of the said Jew for their surrender."

A Distraint.

The Sheriff was ordered to distraint Abraham Mutun and his mainpernors (Karolo, son of Jacob, and Isaac of York, of Cambridge). That official afterwards reported that he had the chattels in safe keeping, and that the Jew had no more chattels. Later still, the Sheriff sent word that Abraham and none of his household could be found after receipt of the writ, and that he had nought in his bailiwick whereby he

¹ See p. 164.

² See pp. 178, 182, 184, 191, &c.

³ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. i. pp. 282 and 304.

may be distrained. Subsequent proceedings¹ are recorded in later rolls.

Isaac of York was a nephew of the celebrated Aaron of
 "Isaac of York," a Cambridge Jew. York, and appears to have settled² in Cambridge. He acted as attorney for his uncle, but his financial affairs were not worthy of the family reputation.

It may be well at this point to deal generally with the career of Abraham Mutun, the principal character in the above record.

Abraham Mutun. He is described in one of the letters³ of Master Elias as the "son of Benedict"; and his father may have been the Benedict Mutun, the son of "Bonemie Motun and Amistera his wife" mentioned in the *Bracton Note Book* (918) under date 1224. In the year 1273, we read⁴ in *The Exchequer Roll of the Jews*: "Be it had in remembrance, that Abraham Motun gives to the King 1 bezant, that his cognomen be changed." We are not, however, told what his new surname was, and indeed in subsequent records he is still called Abraham Mutun. In the same year (1273), as we shall see, he was in difficulties⁵ as to his tallage payments.

In a singularly interesting article in the eighteenth volume of the *Revue des Études juives*, Mr. Joseph Jacobs gave an account, under date 1280, of a journey to Flanders by Master Elias, the son of Master Moses of London. This well-known Jew was summoned abroad on account of his medical skill, and he was accompanied by Abraham Mutun, who is styled in the official passport⁶ as "Judæus ejusdem Magistri Elie"; while by the said Master Elias he is described in a curious Norman-French letter as "Abraham Motun *fiz Benet Mun Ju*."

There are various records of financial dealings in which

¹ See Mr. Rigg's 2nd vol., pp. 4 and 5, and 40.

² Rigg, vol. i. p. 282.

³ *Revue des Études juives*, vol. xviii. (pp. 256-261).

⁴ Rigg, vol. ii. p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 20.

⁶ *Lit. Pat.*, 1280, m. 22, no. 11.

this Abraham took part, but they need not be detailed here. We may pass on to the time of the Expulsion. In the lists of property owners compiled at that date we do not find his name in the Cambridge and Huntingdon record, although he had formerly¹ been described as "Abraham Mutun of Cambridge"; but in the London list² we find Abraham Motoun bracketed with Benedict, son of Meyer, as having bonds in the *archa* and as possessing houses in the Jewry.

We return to Geoffrey mentioned a few paragraphs back in connexion with the troubles at Sawston, and we find that the same tenant of William de Burgh also had financial difficulties³ with two brothers, Moses and Samuel of Senlis.

These brothers were members of a family who were well known in Cambridge. Reference has already been made (on page 157) to the father, Isaac of Senlis [*de Sancto Licio*], who was one of the mainpernors of Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge, in the action brought against him in 1253 by John le Rus.

Another
Family of
Jews.

Isaac of Senlis, however, had died before Easter 1266, for we find the following memorandum⁴ in the Jewish Plea Rolls:—

"Sarah, wife that was of Isaac of Senlis, paid by Manser, son of Abraham, 2½ marks, which she ought to have paid on Easter quindene in the fiftieth year, on account of a fine which she made for possessions of the chattels of her said husband. She paid to Robert de Fulham. And she owes 2½ marks at the feast of St. Michael, and the residue, as it is recorded in the Great Roll of the fifty-first year."

The Mother.

Another record, however, "in the King's Fine Roll," states that Moses,⁵ the eldest of the three sons of Isaac of Senlis, had possessed himself of all his father's chattels, by virtue of a fine which he made before the Justices, &c., after his father's death.

The Eldest
Son.

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 285.

² B. L. Abrahams, *Jewish Hist. Soc. Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 97; Joseph Jacobs, *London Jewry*, p. 22.

³ *Ibid.*, Index, "Geoffrey of Sauston."

⁴ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 35.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53; *Exchequer of the Jews*, i., Index.

The eldest son had various financial dealings in Cambridge and the neighbourhood, connected with his father's affairs as well as with his own enterprises. Allusion, however, need only be made to the Sawston dispute, already referred to. In this case Moses and Samuel, sons and heirs of Isaac of Senlis, were attached to answer Geoffrey of Sawston, touching a plea of acquittance of debt . . . in respect of lands of William de Burgh, of which he was tenant. Various stars were produced. The brothers entered various pleas, including the statement that "they had a third brother and heir, in whose absence they are not bound to answer." It was replied that, at the death of his father, Moses, the eldest son, had by himself made fine with the King for all the goods and chattels which belonged to his father Isaac. So it was adjudged that the said Moses should acquit the debt of $3\frac{1}{2}$ marks, and that he should make good to Geoffrey of Sawston his damages, which were taxed at 2 marks. And Isaac of Southwark, his "countor," was also "in mercy."

Isaac of Southwark¹ was a Jew who resided in Surrey, but had financial dealings in many parts of the country. He is spoken of as "serviens Judæorum."

Another member of the Senlis family was named Leo. His widow Giva figured in several financial affairs.²

Ivo Quarrel, a Cambridge citizen, whom the *Fine Rolls*³ of more than twenty years earlier show to have been then a debtor to the account of Isaac Bigelin, a deceased Jew (see p. 140), now twice appears as a prosecutor in the *Plea Rolls*⁴ of the *Exchequer of the Jews*. In the first case, in 1266, he brought a writ of account against Abraham son of Samuel, Abraham son of Isaac, Isaac son of Abraham, and Benedict of Newport. He withdrew, however, from the writ, making fine for his amercement in a half mark. Again, two years later, he

A Cambridge
Citizen.

¹ Rigg, i., Index.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 279, and 297.

³ *Rot. Fin.* (ed. Roberts), 30 Henry III., m. 19.

⁴ Rigg, i. pp. 134 and 192.

brought another writ of account, this time against Isaac, son of Solomon. Again, however, he was in mercy for default of prosecution. Ivo Quarrel must then have been an old man, if he be the same individual who figured in the *Fine Rolls*¹ in the early part of King John's reign. His name also occurs in the list of debtors on pages 146, 254-5.

The next entry to which attention must be drawn is of a different kind. John Lovel² is ordered to pay the debts that he received by summons of the Exchequer A Sheriff of the Jews in the counties of Cambridge and in arrears. Huntingdon while he was Sheriff thereof, and with which he is charged by the Sheriff that now (1266) is. This same John Lovel, some four years later (1270), being lord of the manor of Tychemarsh, had some very curious dealings³ with certain Jews; but as the documents relating thereto belonged to the Chirograph Chests of Northampton and Bedford, they need not be detailed here.

Turning from these proceedings against a county official, attention may be drawn to a private record⁴ relating to certain disputed messuages in the town of Cambridge.

Under date Holy Trinity term 1267 ("nothing Jews gain
a Case in
Cambridge. having been done in the Easter term, owing to the war") we read:

"Bartholomew, son of John, who, with John, son of Adam, claimed against Abraham, son of Antera, and Solomon Bigelin, three messuages with appurtenances in Cambridge, of which Adam Umel, grandfather of the said Bartholomew and cousin of the said John, whose heir they are, are seised in demesne, as of fee, on the day of his death, as appears in Michaelmas term in the beginning of the fiftieth year (1266), and afterwards the Jews had a view of the land, came on this day; but neither on the first nor on the second or third or fourth, nor yet on the sixth day would he say aught against the said Jews. So it is adjudged, that the said Jews go thereof without day, and that

¹ *Pedes Finium* (ed. W. Rye), C.A.S., vol. xxvi. p. 5.

² Rigg, i. p. 135.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 224 and 288.

⁴ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 36.

the said Bartholomew take nothing by this writ, but be in mercy."

Of Solomon Bigelin, one of the Jews successful in this affair, we know nothing, unless he is identical with a "Solomon of Cambridge,"¹ living soon afterwards (1270) at Canterbury. He was perhaps a son of Isaac Bigelin, a Jew of Cambridge, who died some twenty years previously (see p. 140). Of Abraham, son of Antera, a curious story will be told a little later.²

The next case illustrates the difficulties which Jewish money-lenders sometimes met with. The debtor is

"A parish priest without a lay-fee, *i.e.* holding no land save in virtue of his office. He was, therefore, not distrainable by the Court, but was only to be reached through his Bishop. But (says Mr. Rigg in his excellent Preface to the *Jewish Calendar*) with good sense and bad logic the law denied of prelates that which it affirmed of parsons, and treated as lay-fees the lands held in virtue of office by bishops and the heads of religious houses, even though the grant were in frankalmoin (free alms), *i.e.* quit of all specific service whatsoever."

"Bartholomew de Gynges,³ clerk, offered himself on the fourth day against Henry, rector of the church of Barton, executor of the will of William de Lamburne, Knight, deceased, touching a plea that he pay him 2 marks that the deceased knight owed him. Henry making default of appearance, a mandate was issued to the Sheriff, that he compel his appearance. The Sheriff sends word that the said Henry has no lay-fee whereby he may be distrained. Wherefore mandate to the Bishop of Ely, that he cause the said Henry to come before, &c., on Easter quindene, to answer, &c."

This case, and a similar one against another parson and some other executors of the will of Sir William de Lamburne, illustrate the remarks of Mr. Rigg; but the puzzle is to find the Jew.

¹ Rigg, i. pp. 212 and 263.

² See p. 176.

³ Rigg, i. pp. 177 and 178.

The following Cambridge record¹ (1268) is of peculiar interest, because it refers to property belonging to a University official, viz. Stephen de Eye, the well-known thirteenth century Bedell. A University Bedell.

Master Gilbert de Fuelpstede (or Quepstede or Wepstede), who was a tenant of part of the lands late of Stephen de Eye, attached Bartholomew de Caxton to answer him, touching a plea, that he acquit him of £10 owing to Abraham of Norwich, which are demanded to the use of the King's son Edward of him, Gilbert, in respect of his lands, whereby, for lack, he avers, of Bartholomew's acquittance, he is under distraint, to his damage, 20 marks. Master Gilbert produced a writing to the effect following, to wit:

"Stephen de Eye and Bartholomew de Caxton, clerk, to all, &c., greeting: Know that we have by this present writing bound ourselves severally and in full to Gilbert de Wepstede, and his heirs, to acquit them as to all Jews of all debts demandable in respect of all the land of Caudecote before Christmas in the 46th year (1261), and will make the said Gilbert such acquittance thereof as the King's Justices assigned to the custody of the Jews shall direct, most especially as to Abraham, son of Vives, of London, Abraham, son of Deulecresse, Moses of Clare, and Bonamy of York. In witness thereof," &c.

Bartholomew, however, denied that he ever set his seal to the document. An inquest was therefore held at Easter, and adjourned to Michaelmas quindene. Bartholomew essoined himself; but it was, at length, adjudged that he had made and sealed the said writing. He was afterwards ordered to be committed to prison and amerced. Four years later (1272), however, the case² was still dragging on.

Gilbert also (in 1272) obtained from Jacob of Newmarket a starr³ of acquittance as to any debt upon the part of the

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 179.

² *Ibid.*, p. 293.

³ *Ibid.*, i. p. 279. Jacob of Newmarket was the son and heir of Abraham Crespyn (*ibid.*, ii. 113).

lands of Stephen de Eye of which he was tenant. Jacob was in mercy for a false claim; and his amercement was taxed at one bezant.

Abraham, son of Manser, having brought writ¹ of detinue of chattels against Elias Hoppecrave and others, and made default of prosecution, he and his **An unsuccessful Jew.** pledges, to wit, Benedict of Neuport and Solomon of Aubemarle, are in mercy (1268).

The following is a specimen of a kind of mandate often issued to the sheriffs:

“Mandate² to the Sheriff of Cambridge, that he cause proclamation to be made that any Jew or Jewess that may have any claim of debt to make against Ralph de Planaz, must appear before the Justices, &c., to account with **Proclamation as to debts.** Ralph de Bray, tenant of the lands late of the said Ralph, &c. The Sheriff sends word, as well in Latin as in Hebrew, that no Jew or Jewess has any such claim to make, in respect either of Ralph’s own debts or those of his ancestors” (1268).

See a similar proclamation³ as to the debts of John Le Moyne of Shelford in the year 1270.

It is tantalising to know that a Cambridge record⁴ at the end of a membrane of the *Plea Rolls* for the year 1268 is too damaged for reconstruction. **A damaged Record.**

A record about a charter of £8 of fee-rent under the names of Benedict, son of Solomon, of Cambridge,⁵ and Richard, son of Ralph of Stolis, the sealed part of which was in the Wilton Chirograph Chest, **The Custom of Jewry.** supplies some curious information as to the custom of Jewry. The record of the Wiltshire Court is dated February 1st, 1268.

Various suits⁶ having reference to lands in the county of Cambridge need not be specified here; such as Aaron

¹ Rigg, i. p. 192.

² *Ibid.*, i. p. 198.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁶ See Mr. Rigg’s *Exchequer of the Jews*, vol. i., Index.

Crespin's claim against Gilbert Pecche¹ on the manor of Swaffham; an action against Richard de Talles-land and Cristina, widow of Ralph Giffard,² for a payment to the use of Prince Edward, then in possession of the Jewry; another action in which the former of these defendants was involved, as bailiff to Hugh de Vienne, concerning a sale from Aaron, son of Vives; &c. &c.

County
Cases.

In the Cartulary of St. John's Hospital, preserved in the Treasury³ of the College which succeeded that ancient institution, there is a deed recording the sale of a house in the parish of St. Sepulchre, by Roger de Scaccario to William Toylet and his wife Avice. The grantor had bought this property of Moses⁴ of Clare, a well-known Jew often met with in financial transactions during the middle of the thirteenth century.

Houses of
Jews in
Cambridge.

Another suit between the same parties is thus described in the Jewish Exchequer Records,⁵ in the London Court, under date 1270:—

"Roger de Scaccario offered himself on the fourth day against Moses of Clare touching a plea that he acquit him as to the King of £7 demanded of him to the King's use in respect of a tenement in Cambridge on account of Dieie, son of Master, as, &c. On Moses' default of appearance, mandate to the Constable, that he compel his appearance. The Constable sends word that the said Moses resides at Sudbury. Wherefore mandate to the Sheriff of Suffolk, that he cause him to come before, &c., on the octave of Trinity."

Roger de Scaccario had other dealings⁶ with the Jews.

¹ Gilbert Pecche was a celebrated benefactor of Barnwell Priory; see Mr. J. W. Clark's *Liber Memorandum*, Index.

² Doubtless a member of the Giffard family mentioned on page 154.

³ The writer desires to thank the Master of St. John's, and the Bursar, for kind permission to consult various documents in the Bursary.

⁴ Baker, in his *History of St. John's* (ed. Mayor, p. 26), says, "There is an original *inter archiva coll.* concerning the sale of a house in St. Sepulchre's parish belonging to Molley, a Jew," where *Molley* is a strange mistake for Mosseus ["de venditione Mossey (long S's in the original) judei de Clare"]. Mossey is the *genitive*. The form Mossey (as a *nominative*), often found in works on Anglo-Jewish history, is an error.

⁵ Rigg, i. p. 234.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Index.

With Moses of Clare, and Deiei, son of Master, we have met elsewhere.¹ The latter, it will be remembered, was one of those who represented Cambridge at the *Parliamentum Judaicum* in 1241.

The following record shows the share which fell to the King, or to his representative, on the death of a Jew of Cambridge:—

“Whereas Bonevie,² son of Bonenfant, died at the time when the Jewry was in the hands of the King’s son Edward, **The Royal Share.** and Robert Fitz John was then indebted to the said Bonevie in 10 marks by charter in the London Chirograph Chest, of which debt $3\frac{1}{2}$ marks belong to the said Edward, the said Robert paid $3\frac{1}{2}$ marks to William de Middleton, the said Edward’s attorney, and the balance of the debt to the said Bonevie’s widow, and the said charter is delivered to the said Robert in full Exchequer quit and cancelled” (1270).

It may be that Bonevie’s father was the same Bonenfant of Cambridge³ who was hanged on an accusation **A Jew Hanged.** of money-clipping. The property of this unfortunate Jew was escheated to the King.

A curious story is unfolded in an action between a Jew of Cambridge named Abraham, son of Antera (who has already been mentioned,⁴ and whose transactions in other parts might have been quoted) and Michael Strangelynn. **A Disputed Transaction.**

The case⁵ was begun in the London Court in 1272, but the Jew did not put in an appearance. A mandate was issued to the Constable of the Tower to compel **The Jew in Prison.** his appearance. That official reported that Abraham lay sick in prison so that he could not come.

The case was therefore adjourned till July 21st, when Abraham appeared at the Cambridge Court, and demanded of Michael Strangelynn £25 (save 18s. received of the said Michael) by two chirographs, to wit one for £20 and another

¹ See pp. 86, 163, &c.

² Rigg, i. p. 265.

³ See p. 142.

⁴ See p. 172.

⁵ Rigg, i. pp. 293 and 300; and ii. p. 76.

for 100s., which chirographs were in the Cambridge Chirograph Chest.

The details are so interesting that they must be quoted in full :—

“ Michael avers that the claim is unlawful, for that he owes him nothing ; he says, however, that three weeks before Christmas, in the 56th year (1271) he, Michael, came to Cambridge, and borrowed of the said Abraham’s wife a certain sum of money, and made her a charter for 100s. under his and the said Abraham’s names, so, however, that if he, Michael, should pay 2 marks on the feast of St. John the Baptist in the 56th year, he should be quit of the said charter for 100s. ; and thereafter came the said Abraham and bought of him, Michael, 100 couples of oaken chevrons for 100s., deliverable, 50 couples at Mid-Lent in the 56th year, and 50 couples at the ensuing Hokeday ; and for the faithful performance of the said agreement touching the timber at the said terms, he, Michael, made the said Jew a charter for £20, and caused it to be placed in the Cambridge Chirograph Chest on condition, nevertheless, that if he, Michael, should deliver the said timber to the said Jew at the terms aforesaid, then he should be quit of the said charter for £20 ; and thereafter, to wit, at Mid-Lent, he, Michael, came and delivered to him the said 50 couples, wherefore the said Abraham should have paid him 25s. for the said timber, which 25s. he, Michael, assigned to the said Jew in part payment of the said charter for 2 marks, so that there remained but 20d. to pay thereon, which 20d. he, Michael, paid at the term appointed in the said charter for 2 marks, to wit, on the vigil of St. John the Baptist, last past, to the Chirographers of Cambridge, in whose hands the said moneys still are ; and at the term appointed for the delivery of the said timber to the said Jew, to wit, at Hokeday, he, Michael, came and delivered to him 50 couples of the same chevrons, and demanded the balance of his money, to wit, 23s. 8d., arrears in respect of the said timber, which the said Jew refused to pay him, but detained and still detains against him unlawfully. And touching all the premises Michael puts himself upon the Christian and Jewish Chirographers of Cambridge. The Jew avers that this count ought not to avail him, for that it has relevance not to a writ

of account, but to a writ of trespass, and thereof he craves judgment.

"Afterwards, on the prayer of the parties, the case is adjourned to Michaelmas quindene without essoinment, Michael to choose the Mayor of Cambridge and one of the Christian Chirographers, and in like manner Abraham to choose a Jewish Chirographer and another Jew, to arbitrate between them; and if they accept not the award of the arbitrators, they are to come before, &c., on the said day, and if they accept it, they agree to come before, &c., on the said day, to withdraw their cause. On which day came the said Michael and offered himself, and the said Abraham made default of appearance. Wherefore order, that the Sheriff compel his appearance on Martinmas three weeks, to hear the record and his judgment."

The case was again mentioned in the Trinity Term of the next year (1273), and finally, among the Pleas of the following Michaelmas octave, we read of a

"Concord made by leave of the Justices between Michael de Rangelon (as he is here called) and Abraham, son of Antera, in form of quitclaim by Abraham of all debts ever owing to him by Michael from the creation of the world to the Wednesday next before Michaelmas octave. For the said leave (we are told) the said Michael gives the King 2s.; pledge, the said Abraham."

The transfer of a charter from one Chest to another, or rather its production at another Court, is illustrated by the following record¹ of a Lincoln case (1272):

"Be it had in remembrance, that whereas Gilbert de Neville, son and heir of Hervey de Neville, was distrained for £30 of debt to Abraham, son of Josce, to the use of Aaron, son of Vives, which said moneys were assigned to the said Aaron out of the King's Treasury, as appears among the Memoranda of Michaelmas term last past, the said Gilbert came and craved inspection of the charter by which the said Aaron demands of him the said debt. Wherefore mandate to the Chirographers of Cambridge, that they withdraw from the Chest the said charter, and have the same before, &c., on Michaelmas octave. Afterwards came the said Gilbert

From
Cambridge
to Lincoln.

¹ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. pp. 308, 309.

by his attorney, and denied that the said Hervey was ever bound in the said debt. Wherefore mandate to the Sheriff of Lincoln, that he leave him in the meantime in peace."

The two Jews here mentioned, Abraham son of Josce and Aaron son of Vives, were very influential money-lenders; the former had financial dealings in all parts of England; the latter we have seen¹ as the diligent guardian of the family of Saulot Mutun.

From a mandate² for the levy of money upon the Jews, a copy of which is contained in the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* for the year 1272, we gather some interesting information as to their location Jews in
Cambridge. in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.

"The Sheriff was commanded, that he cause to be levied upon the Jews of Cambridge 8s., upon the Jews of Huntingdon 3s., upon the Jews of Bottisham³ 2s., and upon the In Hunting-
don. Jews of Holm 2s, to the use of Henry de Winton, upon account of 4 marks of gold which the said Henry lent to Hagin, son of Master Moses, and Master Elias, to the use of the King, which marks were assessed upon the entire In Bot-
tisham, &c. community of the Jews of England at the feast of St. John the Baptist in the fifty-third year of the reign (1269); so that he have those moneys before, &c., three weeks after St. John the Baptist's day instant, to be delivered to the said Henry. On which day the Sheriff sent the said 8s. levied upon the Jews of Cambridge, and 3s. levied upon the Jews of Huntingdon, which he paid to Richard of Wykeham, the said Henry's attorney, and thereof is quit; and he sent word that the bailiffs of the Countess of Gloucester do not permit him to enter the Liberty of Bottisham, and the bailiffs of Edmund, son of the King of Germany, do not permit him to levy any money upon the Jews of Holm. So the Sheriff is commanded, that he omit not by reason of the said Liberties to enter, &c., and to cause the said moneys to be made of the chattels of the Jews of Bottisham and Holm; so that he may have them before, &c., on Michaelmas octave."

¹ See p. 164.

² Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 68.

³ A village in the neighbourhood of Cambridge.

Similar mandates were issued to the Sheriffs of other counties.

The official Jews here mentioned—Hagin and Elias—were brothers,¹ sons of the celebrated Master Moses. Hagin is sometimes described as of London, but generally as of Lincoln; Elias, like his father, was called “Master Elias”; he has generally been confounded with Elias le Eveske, from whom, however, he is quite distinct.

The Countess of Gloucester² was Maud, dowager Countess of Clare, Gloucester, and Hertford, who held Bottisham in dower for the term of her life; and Edmund, the son of the King of Germany, was Richard’s successor³ in the Earldom of Cornwall, who was not yet invested.

The next record⁴ shows the facilities for amendment afforded by the Courts:

“Fluria, widow of Bonevye of Neuber’, came before, &c., and said that she had lost the middle part of a chirograph for £20 under the names of Roger Russel and Aaron of Rye, which she had in her possession, one-fourth of which the said Aaron acknowledges to belong to the said Fluria. It is granted her, that she have a writ for the chirograph in the Chest, &c., and she gives the King 1 bezant, as appears among the Memoranda of Bezants.”

The fact that Fluria makes an application to the Cambridge Court suggests the identification of her late husband Bonevie of Neubery with Bonevye, the son of Bonenfaunt already mentioned (p. 176); although Bonevie is elsewhere said to have been a resident of Winchester.

One of the last records of the reign of Henry III. tells us that on 22nd July 1272, the Abbot of Walden⁵ produced before the Sheriff of Essex a chirograph for £50 under the name of Abraham, son of Isaac, of Cambridge.

¹ See pp. 4, &c.

² Widow of Richard de Clare IV., Earl of Gloucester and Hertford.

³ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 69.

⁴ Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 311.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

CHAPTER VI

THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE UNDER EDWARD I.

IN the first year (1272) of King Edward I. the Jewish Exchequer Records¹ of the Court at Cambridge include the acknowledgment by Saunte, son of Ursell, by his starr, of the quittance of the Warden (*Custos*) of the House of Scholars of Merton and the scholars thereof, &c., of the right, &c., as to all lands and tenements which they held in Grantese [Granchester] in the county of Cambridge by the sale and demission of William de Appelford, formerly debtor of the said Jew.

Property of
the Scholars
at Merton.

The reference is to certain property which Walter de Merton, doubtful as to the ultimate location of the collegiate institution he was founding at Oxford, had lately purchased in the suburbs of Cambridge.

If the Jew referred to was Saunte, son of Ursell of Colchester, he was about that time a prisoner in the Tower of London. In the *Hundred Rolls* (ii. 565) there is a record of the transference of the Granchester property from William de Apelford (as he is there called) and his mother Lucia to the Merton authorities.

During the year 1273, we have the record of a case in the Cambridge Court which illustrates certain aspects of the the customs of the Jewry, and which is interesting from the peculiar surname of the Jewess concerned.

A Widow's
Claim.

An inquiry² was made as to the property of Belecote, widow of Samuel Gabay, who claimed a moiety of a house at Cam-

¹ Rot. 15, m. 2 (Rigg, *Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Jewish Exchequer*, ii. 71).

² Rigg, *op. cit.*, vol. ii. p. 43.

bridge. The Sheriff was ordered to return the inquest on Michaelmas octave; on which day came the inquest by certain appointed Christians and Jews—whose names it is interesting to note: Nicholas Goldsmith, Abraham le Chapeler, Humfrey de Sancto Edmundo, John Waryn and Adam Schot, together with Jacob of Newmarket, Benedict of Newport, Salomon son of Aaron, and others. They say upon oath that the said Samuel had nothing in the County of Cambridge but two houses which are worth by the year, saving the lord's service, 5s. 2d. For one of which houses Belecote gives the King 20d., which she pays in the King's Receipt. A mandate was issued to the Sheriff, that he give her free administration thereof.

Of the Cambridge citizens mentioned above, several are alluded to in the *Hundred Rolls*; while of the Jewish jurors we read elsewhere¹ that Jacob of Newmarket was the son of Abraham Crespyn. The surname² of the Jewish lady perhaps suggests that her husband had been an official in the local synagogue.

The following record³—also dated at the beginning of Edward I.'s reign—is interesting in itself, as well as from the important persons involved, and from the curious language employed.

Heavy
Demands.

“Aaron, son of Vives, offered himself on the fourth day against Geoffrey, Dean of Cambridge, touching a plea, that the said Geoffrey unlawfully demands of him more yearly rent than he owes him, and in respect thereof did and does distrain him, Aaron, and his tenants in Cambridge, and cause him and them to be distrained and flayed (*injuste distringit et distringi et excoriari facit*), to his (Aaron's) grievous damage, and against the King's peace. The Dean making default in appearance, mandate to the Sheriff, that he compel his appearance. The Sheriff sends word that the said Geoffrey has no lay-fee whereby he may be attached. Therefore mandate to the Bishop of Ely, that he distrain him by his chattels ecclesiastical, so that he have his body before, &c., on the morrow of St. Margaret, to answer, &c. On which day the Bishop sent no word, but re-

¹ Rigg, *Jewish Exchequer*, vol. i. p. 279.

² See p. 60.

³ Rigg, *Jewish Exchequer*, ii. p. 29.

turned the King's writ under his own seal. Therefore as before, for Michaelmas month. And let the Bishop, &c. On which day the Bishop neither sent word nor returned the writ. Therefore as before, for Hilary octave. And let the Bishop, be, &c., &c."

The Bishop here referred to was the celebrated Hugh de Balsham, founder of Peterhouse, the first Cambridge College. Geoffrey, the [Rural] Dean of Cambridge was Geoffrey de Alderhethe,¹ Warden of St. John's Hospital (the predecessor of St. John's College) and vicar of Holy Sepulchre Church. He had inherited considerable property² in his own right; and he may, as vicar of "the Round Church," have claimed certain tithes; for "all Jews were bound (by Royal mandate³) to answer to the rector of the parish in which they dwell touching all dues parochial relating to their houses." It may also have been as *Custos* of St. John's Hospital that he made claims; for that society at different times came into possession of Jewish houses.

Attention may be drawn to the language used in the legal record: Aaron complains that the vicar of Holy Sepulchre "distrained him and his tenants, and caused him and them to be distrained and *flayed* (injuste distringit et distringi et *excoriari* facit)." The last expression here used is a strange word to be used in a legal document; but it is found in the pathetic speech⁴ made in 1253 by Elias le Eveske, the Arch-Presbyter, when he protested that "the King is exacting from us those things we cannot give him, even though he would put out eyes or cut our throats when he had first pulled off our skins (*exigens a nobis quæ non possumus; etsi oculos erueret, vel excoriatos jugularet*)." So Matthew Paris reports the speech, and the

¹ See Baker's *History of St. John's College* (ed. Mayor), i. pp. 26, 52; *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, i. p. 76.

² In the Treasury of St. John's College, there are various deeds relating to property belonging to Geoffrey (St. Sepulchre's Parish Box).

³ "Et quod quilibet Judeus respondeat rectori Ecclesiæ, in cuius parochiæ manent (*sic*), de omnibus parochialibus ad domum ipsius Judei spectantibus." *Rot. Lit. Claus.*, 37 Hen. III., m. 18; Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. xlviii.

⁴ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (ed. 1640), p. 982.

chronicler himself in another place¹ concludes his account of the manner in which Henry III. practised his extortions with these words: "Non tamen abradendo, vel *excoriando* sed *eviscerando* extorsit."

The celebrated Jew, Aaron, son of Vives, who, in the record with which we are dealing, complains of the exactions of Geoffrey de Alderheth, has been mentioned before, and will be alluded to right up to the date of the Expulsion, but it will be well here to give a short account of his career.

Aaron was taken under the personal patronage² of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, the second son of Henry III., who had specially granted the Jew to this prince. Edward gave Aaron his pardon, with varied privileges, reserving a pair of gilt spurs to be paid annually at Whitsuntide (ad Festum Pentecost: unum par calcarium deauratorum). In the following year Aaron was accorded permission³ to stay in any town in the kingdom where Jews were accustomed to dwell. As we have seen, the Earl of Lancaster also procured for him the guardianship⁴ of the son and heir of Saulot Mutun. Aaron's name often occurs in the Court of the Exchequer of the Jews in connexion with the administration of this property, as well as of other possessions belonging to himself or his "tenants." For instance, on February 26, 1280, he brought a writ⁵ of the King under the Great Seal recording that Aaron had given to Eleanor, the Queen Consort, the debts in which Gilbert Pecche⁶ was bound to the said Jew by his charters and writings obligatory, and stating that certain provisions were made in his favour. Again, a Norman-French acquittance⁷ as to an obligation of

¹ Matthew Paris, *Hist. Angl.* (ed. 1640), p. 831.

² Frynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. [116]; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 185-6. These writers always miscalled our Jew "Aaron, son of Vynes."

³ Frynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. [120]; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 186.

⁴ *Close Rolls*, sub anno 1307, p. 510.

⁵ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 112.

⁶ Sir Gilbert Pecche was a Cambridge landowner, noted for his patronage of Barnwell Priory.

⁷ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 133.

twenty sacks of wool, price ten marks the sack, is made in 1234; "and this (it is stated in conclusion) I have sealed and signed in the Hebrew tongue," אהרן ב'ר' חיים.

He gave to the community of the Jews of London a messuage of stone with all its courts in the street called Cattestrate in the Jewry in the parish of St. Lawrence, to build a synagogue.¹ This was conveniently near to his own London residence.

It will be seen afterwards, at the time of the Expulsion, that Aaron was possessed of considerable property, including bonds registered in the Cambridge and Huntingdon Chirograph Chest.² It may be added that, up to the last, royal favour was extended to him; for, even after the order of banishment had gone forth against the Jews, permission³ was granted to him to sell certain possessions, and "un sauf-conduit spécial" was issued on his behalf. Two sons of his are mentioned,⁴ one bearing his father's name, and the other called Cok, the son of Aaron, the son of Vives.

The *Patent Rolls*⁵ for the year 1273 (Feb. 20th) record a mandate issued to Robert de Ludham to go to the Chest of Debts of the Chirographers of Cambridge and other Jewish centres, and "by view of the Chirographers thereof, both Christians and Jews, to cause the said debts to be scrutinised and enrolled." Inquisition
of the
Cambridge
Chest.

The object of this mandate was doubtless to facilitate the gathering of the arrears of the tallage of the last year⁶ of the reign of Henry III., and effectively to levy the new tallage assessed upon the Jews in the Easter term in the first year⁷ of Edward I.

In connexion, doubtless, with these exactions, we notice

¹ *Close Rolls*, 1280, p. 245.

² *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, ii. p. 88.

³ Pryne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. [110].

⁴ Rigg, *Jewish Exchequer*, i. pp. 199 and 272.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1272, p. 6; Pryne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 55.

⁶ "The tallage of 5000 marks assessed in the fifty-sixth year of King Henry" (Rigg, ii. p. 71).

⁷ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 77.

that several Cambridge Jews seem to have been in difficulties about their payments.

For instance, in the *Patent Rolls*,¹ under date 3rd February 1274, we read of a licence granted to Abraham, son of Isaac, "King's Jew of Cambridge," to sell to John Martyn the houses and rents in the parish of St. Sepulchre, Cambridge, sometime of the Prior of Barnwell, which Isaac, his father, long since bought from the Prior. Abraham declared that he is unable to satisfy the King in full for the present tallage assessed upon him unless he can sell his house and rents.

A Jew in difficulties.
Sale of houses in the Cambridge Jewry.

It is not certain who was the Isaac, the father of Abraham here mentioned, for there were, at different periods, several Jews of that name in Cambridge; but he is probably identical with Isaac, the son of Samuel—whose name appears in the two lists quoted above,² and who was the senior among those elected³ to represent the University town in the so-called *Parliamentum Judaicum* held at Worcester in 1241.

John Martyn, to whom the houses were sold in 1274, was a very prominent citizen of Cambridge, who held the office of Mayor⁴ of the borough at least fifteen times. He had, however, parted with the property in St. Sepulchre's parish. Sepulchre's parish when the great inquisition was taken four or five years later; or (of which there is no other indication) the sale was an official grant; or there was some uncertainty as to circumstances of the property which had lately been in the hands of the Jews (but this also is mere conjecture, though, as remarked above,⁵ the returns for the parish of St. Sepulchre are smaller than might be expected).

Similarly, it may be pointed out that Abraham, the son of Antera, and Abraham, son of Mutun, were at this date in

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1274, p. 42.

² See pp. 145 and 158.

³ See p. 86.

⁴ Maitland, *Township and Borough*, pp. 134-6.

⁵ See p. 117.

trouble about their tallage payments, as may be seen from the following extract¹ from the *Exchequer Rolls*, where, under date 1273, we read:—

“Whereas Abraham, son of Antera, and Abraham Mutun paid not their tallage, mandate to the Chirographers of Cambridge that they withdraw from the Chest all charters found therein under the names of Christians whomsoever, and the said Abraham and Abraham, so that they have the said charters before, &c., on Easter quindene, for delivery to the Justices as forfeit to the King.”

The Cambridge Chirograph Chest.

A mandate to the like effect against these two and other Jews was also addressed to the Chirographers of London.

Later on, in the same year, however, it is reported² in the same *Rolls*:—

“Be it had in remembrance, that whereas the charters of Abraham, son of Antera, were brought before, &c., by mandate of the King for default of payment of tallage, and the King took into his hand certain debts, as appears in the roll of chattels taken into the King’s hand for tallage, five charters belonging to the said Abraham are placed in a pix under the chief seal of the Exchequer of the Jews, and transmitted to the Cambridge Chirograph Chest, with mandate to the Chirographers to suffer the said Abraham to have free administration thereof.”

With reference perhaps to the same transactions, we read³ in the *Exchequer Roll of the Jews* at about the same date:—

“Be it had in remembrance that Abraham Motun came before, &c. [at the Cambridge Court], and acknowledged by his starr the sale to Master Elias, son of Master Moses, of a debt of £30 and another of £10, both debts being under the names of him, Abraham, and Roger de Scales, by charters brought from the London Chirograph Chest, whither the said charters are returned, with mandate to the Chirographers to receive them and place them in the Chest, and suffer the said Elias to have free administration thereof.”

¹ Rigg. *Exchequer of the Jews*, ii. p. 20.

² *Ibid.*, p. 57.

³ Rigg. *ibid.*, ii. p. 55.

We now turn to the influence of Queen Eleanor, the mother of the King, upon the Jews of Cambridge. We have seen that upon her marriage to Henry III. in 1236, Cambridge and other towns had been given to her, by way of dower.¹ The grant was renewed² by her son Edward, on his succession to the crown. We find, for instance, the following entry in the *Close Rolls*, under date 17th September 1273: "To the bailiffs and men of Cambridge assigned to her in dower. King's mother, to whom the King assigned that town in dower, their ferm and rent for the present term of Michaelmas, and thus hereafter, according to the King's letters patent of grant."

Various forces were now acting against the Jews. The barons and landowners had long been eager to seize any occasion of oppressing them; the clergy and the religious orders had ever opposed them; the common people had always been ready to join in any riot; and now royal favour was being withdrawn from them. That royal favour had arisen from mercenary motives; the Jews had been for nearly two centuries a source of income to the Crown. That income was falling off. Theological hatred³ was also rife, and Eleanor,⁴ the Queen-mother, seems to have been caught by the religious wave of feeling against the Jews, and to have applied to her royal son for power to expel them from her dower-towns.

Accordingly, we find in the *Patent Rolls*⁵ for the third year of Edward I.'s reign (12th January 1275), a grant to

¹ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, i. p. 218.

² *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1273, p. 31.

³ About the year 1275 both the Franciscans and the Dominicans received added power in Cambridge, the former moving into their new quarters in what is now called Sidney Street. It may be that these friars had something to do with the expulsion of the Jews from our University town.

⁴ Bishop William Stubbs calls Eleanor of Provence "*the steady enemy*" of the Jews. *Const. History*, ii. 529.

⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1275, p. 76; see also Dr. C. Gross, *A.-J. H. E. Paper*, pp. 187, 188, where the Latin text is printed; as it is in Rigg's *Select Pleas*, p. 85, together with the translation.

Eleanor, the King's mother, that no Jew shall dwell or stay in any town which she holds in dower; and a writ was issued by the King, which is inscribed in the *Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* reads as follows:—

Eleanor
expels the
Jews from
Cambridge
(1275).

“Whereas by our letters patent we have granted to our dearest mother, Eleanor, Queen of England, that no Jew shall dwell or abide in any of the towns which, by assignment of our father, King Henry, and Ourselves, she, our mother, has for her dower within our realm, so long as the same towns shall be in her, our mother's, hand, and for this cause we have provided that the Jews of Marlborough be deported to our town of Devizes, the Jews of Gloucester to our town of Bristol, the Jews of Worcester to our town of Hereford, and the Jews of Cambridge to our city of Norwich, with their Chirograph Chests and all their goods, and that they henceforth dwell and abide in the said towns and cities among our other Jews of those places. We therefore command you, that, doing them no injury, either to their persons or their goods, you cause the said Jews of Marlborough, Gloucester, Worcester, and Cambridge¹ to be removed from those towns, and to betake themselves with their Chirograph Chests to the places aforesaid, in such manner as you shall deem that it may most aptly for our purpose be done. Witness Myself at Clarendon the sixteenth day of January in the third year of our reign.”

Mandates were also issued to the Sheriffs of Cambridge and other counties, commanding them to cause the said Jews to be deported from the places aforesaid.

Mandate to
the Sheriff.

The Chests (*archæ*) of the Chirographers were accordingly transferred; but it appears that the destination of the Cambridge Jews and their archives was altered from Norwich to Huntingdon. We soon afterwards find that the Sheriffs were ordered to nominate fresh Chirographers, both Christians and Jews, and writers, at the

The Chests
transferred
to Hunt-
ingdon.

¹ The name *Cambridge* should therefore be printed in italics in the map which illustrates the article “Jews in England,” in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

new centres. At Huntingdon¹ Josceus, son of Samuelotus, was appointed one of the Chirographers, taking the oath and finding *pledges*, namely, Sampson, son of Isaac of Worcester, and Isaac le Eveske of London. The Sheriff was ordered to cause the other officers to be chosen, and to report their names in the octave of Saint Michael.

Thus fifteen years before the Expulsion of the Jews from England generally, that unfortunate people were ordered to remove from Cambridge. The banishment was rigidly enforced, and was indeed technically styled "the Exile of the Jews"; thus, in the Great Inquisition held in the year 1278-9, we meet, in the returns as to Cambridge, such an entry² as this: "Stephen Toli held a messuage which his predecessor had received from Queen Eleanor, and it has come to the Queen-mother by escheat by reason of the exile of the Jews ('*in esscaet' rōne exilii Judeorum*')."

The banishment, it has just been remarked, was rigidly enforced; although, from the following extract³ from the *Close Rolls* (dated from Woodstock, 4th February 1277), it appears that the Jews were allowed to hold property in the towns from which they were exiled:—

"To the Sheriff of Cambridge. Order to permit Jocene, son of Samuelotus, a Jew, to dwell with his household in the town of Chesterton, near Cambridge, so that he may have access to Cambridge to ply his merchandise there, and to repair the houses that he has in the same town."

This Josceus had, as noted above, been appointed a Chirographer of the Chest when the Jews were transferred to Huntingdon. He was probably the same whose name appears in the 1284 *Plea Rolls of the Jewish Exchequer*:—⁴

A Jewish
Chiro-
grapher.

¹ Dr. C. Gross, *Exchequer of the Jews of England* (*Papers, A.-J. H. E.*), p. 188.

² *Hundred Rolls*. ii. p. 367.

³ *Close Rolls*, 5 Ed. I., p. 370.

⁴ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, p. 130.

"Joce, son of Saulot, Jew, caused to come the Abbot of Eynsham, tenant of part of the rents which belonged to William Caperun, and demands from him 29s. principal, and interest thence arisen before the Statutes of the King, which moneys he owes him in respect of the said rents, which rents the Jew holds by virtue of a chirograph for 60s., of which the other part is in the London Chirograph Chest. The Abbot by attorney says he holds no rent in Histon which the said William Caperun was able to sell. The Abbot puts himself upon the country; and the said Joce does likewise. The Sheriff is commanded to cause to come twelve, &c., of the venue of Histon, &c."

This record is dated from Cambridge; so that Jewish business seems to have been transacted in that town after the local "exilium Judæorum."

We may here gather up the notices referring to this Josceus. He is variously described in different records as Joce son of Saulot, Josceus son of Samuelotus, Joce son of Saulot Mutun, and Josceus son of Saulot the Jew of Bridge Street in the parish of Holy Sepulchre.¹ As Aaron son of Vives is stated to have been the guardian² of Bencio son of Saulot; it is probable Bencio is an alternative name for Josceus. Though Saulot Mutun had met a violent death³ away back in the times of the Barons' War (before 1266), yet the administration of his property continued to claim the attention of the Courts till long after the Expulsion. See, for instance, the entry in the *Close Rolls* (p. 510) in the year 1307. King Henry extracted a fine⁴ from Aaron the guardian in 1268, and King Edward once and again received money from Josce the son on account of fines⁵ for his father's chattels. We have recorded above various financial dealings on the part of Josceus, have chronicled his appointment as Chirographer of the Huntingdon Chest, and have seen how, when the

Josceus of
Bridge
Street.

¹ *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, p. 74.

² Rigg, *Exchequer of the Jews*, i. p. 154.

³ *Ibid.*, i. p. 138.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i. p. 194.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 65 and 104.

Jews were banished from Cambridge by order of the Queen, Josce was allowed to reside in the suburb of Chesterton in order to superintend his property in the University town. Passing on to the general Expulsion of the Jews from England, we find, from the official list¹ of the contents of the Chests, that his name stands first in the Cambridge and Huntingdon return—where his possessions in corn and wool are recorded—and, from another document,² we learn that he was apparently the only Jew who at that date held houses and lands in Cambridge. Elsewhere we record³ the handing over of these possessions by the King to certain prominent citizens.

Reference may here be made to a certain notorious character, who was connected both with Oxford and Cambridge, as may be seen from a curious record⁴ from the *Jewish Exchequer Rolls* of the former city under date 1277.

“Josce Bundy, taken for receipt of a missal stolen from the Prior of Nuneham by a Christian, his accomplice in the theft, who was hanged, and for coin-clipping, did, on their delivery to the Constable of Oxford Castle, falsely charge the offence upon Vives le Chapelein, Jew, of Oxford, who went quit thereof by the King’s Court, and for that, before the Justices, &c. at Oxford, he was presented by the mayor and bailiffs as a notorious receiver of stolen goods and a clipper of our lord the King’s coin, and for that he is outlawed in divers counties of England for default in paying of tallage assessed upon him in the County of Cambridge under the name of Joce, son of Benedict, comes before the Justices, &c., and denies all of it word by word, and as to his innocence thereof, puts himself upon the Jews. . . . As he hesitated to say whether he was a Jew or not, the Jews declared that he was not one. . . . He was committed to prison.”

Two other references to the Chirograph Chest of Cam-

¹ B. L. Abrahams, *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, ii. p. 88.

² *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.*, p. 74.

³ See p. 116.

⁴ Rigg, *Select Pleas*, pp. 95, 96.

bridge must be quoted—the first from the *Patent Rolls*, dated at Winchester, 10th October 1285:—

“Commission¹ to J. de Lovetot, G. de Pyccheford,² and Master Henry de Bray, to enquire by the oath of the King’s Chirographers, both Christians and Jews, of the Chest of Chirographs of Cambridge and Bedford, and by The Cambridge Chest. the oath of others, if necessary, whether certain charters, under the names of divers Christians and Jews, and the feet of certain indentures lately delivered to the King, and herewith enclosed, were in the said chests at the time of the troubles in the reign of Henry III., and were at that time carried away to the Isle of Ely by the King’s enemies; also whether certain charters which have not been found were in the said chests; and, having by such inquisitions ascertained what debts are concealed, to cause the same to be levied, according to the assise and custom of Jewry, to the use of Eleanor, the King’s Consort.”

The other extract is from the *Close Rolls*,³ tested at Westminster, 26th March 1292—a date, it will be noticed, which is subsequent to the Expulsion of the Jews from England, and to the removal of the Chirograph Chest to London.

“To the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer. Order to supersede the demand made upon the Prior of Neweham near Bedford for £16 for a debt due to Sampson, son of A Disputed Debt. Sampson, sometime a Jew of Cambridge, from Hugh, Prior of Neweham, as the Prior⁴ has shown the King that whereas he nor any of his predecessors are indebted to any Jew of the realm by reason whereof the King can exact any debt from them, nevertheless the Sheriff of Bedford exacts £16 from them for debt aforesaid by summons of the Exchequer, and the

¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1285, p. 212.

² Geoffrey de Pyccheford was a benefactor of the Augustinian Friars in Cambridge. (See the *Patent Rolls*, 1290, p. 368.) He held, among other offices, the post of Constable of Windsor Castle.

³ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 20 Ed. I., p. 224.

⁴ When Jacob, son of Pictavus, was hanged for felony, two messuages in the High Street of Bedford, which he had inherited, escheated to the King, who granted one of them to the Prior of Newnham (B. L. Abrahams, *Jews at Expulsion, Transactions J. H. S. E.*, ii. p. 86).

King learns by inquisition that he caused to be made in the presence of Thomas de Bray by the Sheriff aforesaid that there never was any Prior of Neweham, co. Bedford, of the name of Hugh, and that no Prior of Neweham has hitherto made any contract with any Jew by reason of which he ought to be bound in any debt."

In the year 1278-79, a great Inquisition¹ was made by certain Commissioners appointed by the King. The report as to the town of Cambridge was specially detailed and full. As we have seen, however, the *exilium Judæorum* from our town had already taken place some three or four years previously, otherwise we might have been furnished with many particulars as to the property and location of the Jews. As it is, we have to be content with some incidental references to the past. Such are the following:—

"Item,² that Stephen Toli holds a messuage in the parish of St. Clement which he bought of Nicholas son of John Bernard—who had the same of the gift of Eleanor **Forfeited Property.** the Queen, the mother of Edward the King of England that now is, until the end of the life of the said Eleanor, which fell to the said Queen in escheat by reason of the exile of the Jews who inhabited that house," &c.

"Bonenfant,³ the Jew who was lately hanged for coin-clipping, had a certain vacant piece of land⁴ in the town of Cambridge, which ought to be an escheat of the King."

The churches of the Holy Sepulchre and of All Saints are said to be situated in the *Jewry*.⁵ There is a statement⁶

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, 2 vols., printed 1812.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii. p. 367; see p. 197.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 392.

⁴ In an Inquisition as to certain vacant spaces in the town of Cambridge made in 21 Edw. I. (1293), on the supplication of the Warden and Scholars of King's Hall (afterwards part of Trinity College), there is mention of a "*placea vacua quæ fuit Bonifacii Judei*." It may be that this unusual name points to the same vacant piece referred to in *The Hundred Rolls* (see *Hare MSS.* I., clxxxii., University Registry).

⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 392, 393.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii. p. 356.

of the rent due to the King from "the House of Benjamin," already commented on (see p. 113).

The Canons of Barnwell are reported¹ to possess certain properties, which they received from citizens to whom they gave sums of money to release² them from the Jewry (*ad aquietandum se de judaismo*).

Release
from the
Jews.

As stated in the chapter on Cambridge, various old leases in college archives speak of houses and lands formerly held by Jews. It may be remarked that certain leases have added as a condition³ that they are "not to be alienated to Jews."

"Not to the
Jews."

We have now come to the date of the general banishment of the Jews from England. "In or about 1290 (18 Edward I.)—[says Madox in his great treatise⁴—the growing or renewing Revenue of *Judaism*, and the Exchequer of the Jews, ceased: the Jews having been about that time expelled out of England. But by the expulsion of the Jews (which was then commonly called *exilium Judæorum*) many escheats both of lands and chattels, came into the King's hands."

Banishment
of the Jews
from Eng-
land (1290).

In the Public Record Offices there remain copies⁵ of writs and inquisitions as to houses, lands, &c., held by the Jews and escheated on their Expulsion; there is also a list of the Chests of Deeds brought to the Exchequer at Westminster by the Sheriffs of various counties and towns—including Cambridge and Huntingdon.

Official
Returns.

At the British Museum, among the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*,⁶ there is a copy of the grants, made in 1291, to

¹ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. pp. 357, 358.

² *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 357, 358, &c.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 95, 119, &c.

⁴ *History of the Exchequer*, pp. 177, 178.

⁵ See Mr. B. Lionel Abrahams's article in *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. ii. pp. 76-105.

⁶ *Lansd. MSS.*, vol. 826, part 5, transcript 4. These grants are printed (not very accurately as far as concerns the spelling of Jewish names) in the *Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium* (1805), pp. 73-76.

eighty-five recipients, of houses formerly held by Jews, which had fallen into the King's hand at the Expulsion.

From these the following information is extracted:—

CAMBRIDGE AND HUNTINGDON.

	BONDS		
	Money	Corn	Wool
	All from Q. R. 557/14		
1. Josce, son of Saulot.	30 qrs. = £10 0 0	1 sack = £6 13 4
2. Manser le Chapeleyn, of Huntingdon	10 sacks = £80 0 0
3. Aaron, son of Vives . . .	£22 0 0		
4. Moses, son of Deulecress . . .	84 13 4	$\frac{1}{2}$ qr. = 0 3 4	
5. Seleme, son of Bonenfaunt . . .	2 0 0		
6. Sampson, son of Isaac . . .	10 0 0		
7. Joceus, son of Deulesaut . . .	69 6 8		
	£188 0 0	£10 3 4	£86 13 4

Of the Jews thus connected with the district at the time of the Expulsion, we have already seen¹ that the first-named Josce, the son of Saulot (or Samuelotus) had been permitted to reside in the northern suburbs of Cambridge, that he had been appointed one of the chirographers of Huntingdon, and that he was possessed of considerable property.

Manser was perhaps the deposed chirographer mentioned on p. 151. It will be noticed that he is called "le Chapeleyn." This official title, or surname, is dealt with in a former chapter.²

The activities of Aaron, son of Vives, have already been dwelt upon, and allusion has been made to Sampson, son of Isaac—though the occurrence of several Jews of that name makes the identification uncertain.

¹ See pp. 190-2.

² See pp. 21, &c.

The return¹ to the writ addressed to the Sheriff of Cambridge and Huntingdon, ordering him to make inquisition into the lands and tenements held by Jews in the county of Cambridge, stated that—

Jewish
Property.

"Jocus the Jew holds one messuage in fee in the town of Cambridge of the Prior of Bernewell by service of half a mark, yearly value 20s. No other Jew holds other lands or tenements in the County of Cambridge except a messuage² which Cok' the Jew held in the town of Cambridge of Sabina Hubard for the service of 12d., yearly value 11s. The Jurors say that Queen Eleanor, mother of the King of England, granted the said messuage to Nicholas Bernard³ and his heirs for the term of the life of the said Eleanor."

Among the grants⁴ made, of the houses which had fallen into the King's hands, one (the 14th in the list) is—

"a grant made to John But of Cambridge of those houses (domibus) with appurtenances in Cambridge which belonged to Jocus son of Saulot, the Jew of Briggestrede in the parish of St. Sepulchre."

John But was mayor at the time of the Expulsion; but there is no evidence to show that the grant had any official signification.

In response to the command of the King that the *archae* of Jewish Bonds should be brought to Westminster to be delivered to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, there is a return⁵ reporting that Hugh de Babington the Sheriff and Geoffrey Andre, the chirographer, had duly transferred the chest. The return

The Cam-
bridge
Archa.

¹ *Exchequer, K. R.*, 557 ($2\frac{4}{5}$); see also 557 ($2\frac{4}{5}$).

² A much later document (12 Edw. II.) tells that the piece of ground upon which this building stood was 60 feet in length by 20 feet in breadth (*Essex MS.*, B.M. 6767, p. 11). See also *Pine Rolls*, vol. ii. p. 397.

³ Stephen Toli bought the messuage of Nicholas Bernard; see p. 194; and see *Hundred Rolls*, ii. p. 367; and A. Gray, *St. Radegund*, p. 122.

⁴ *Lansdowne MS.* (Brit. Mus.), 826, transcript 5, fol. 28.

⁵ *Exchequer: King's Remembrancer's Miscellanea* 242 ($\frac{242}{10}$) (Public Record Office).

(which is printed below ¹) is dated from Cambridge; but we have supposed that the *archa* had been deposited at Huntingdon since the local expulsion of the Jews fifteen years before. In the celebrated "Star Chamber" in the Triforium of the Poets' Corner Transept at Westminster Abbey,² there may still be seen at least one specimen of these Jewish "arks."

Geoffrey Andre, the Christian chirographer at Cambridge in 1291, was a wealthy citizen of the University town. In the *Hundred Rolls*,³ there are records of the property owned by him in Holy Sepulchre and other parishes. He is described as "Geoffrey Andre, the son of John Andre, the son of Aldred, the son of Richard of Histon," and reference is made to his brother Nicholas and to his sister Margaret, who married into the St. Edmund's family ⁴—to whose dealings with the Jews allusion has already been made.

Some few years later on in the course of English history, we meet with a strange and romantic incident, which somewhat remotely touches upon the Jews on the one hand and our University on the other.

An historical Nick-name.

Among the audacities and frivolities of Piers Gaveston, the notorious favourite of Edward II., one of the points which angered the leaders and chief landowners was the mimicry and familiarity with which that minion treated the great noblemen of the day. He had some nickname for each of them. Aylmer of Valence, Earl of Pembroke, for instance, he mockingly styled "Joseph the Jew," from something characteristic in his appearance. It may cause surprise when we read that the reason for the epithet was that Aylmer was "pale and tall (*pallidus et*

¹ "Hugo de Babington Vicecomes Cant' et Galfridus Andre Chirographarii tulerunt unam archam cum i clave de novis debitis sub sigillis eorum et non respondent de locatione domorum, et predicta archa ponitur in magna archa in fontaria Regis."

² The writer desires to express his obligations to Dean Armitage Robinson and to Dr. Scott.

³ *Hundred Rolls*, ii., pp. 361, 362, and 404.

⁴ *Outside the Trumpington Gates*, C.A.S., vol. xliv., p. 56.

longus).” Such is the statement¹ made by Thomas Walsingham, in his *Historia Anglicana*. Why the name Joseph was chosen, and why height and paleness are given as Jewish characteristics, are problems which the present writer cannot solve. But it is satisfactory to note that the unscrupulous and malicious favourite could find no worse epithets to hurl at the distinguished nobleman whose memory was long celebrated in the University Church, and whose pious widow handed on his name to the celebrated Cambridge College which she afterwards founded.

¹ *Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana* (ed. H. T. Riley), i. p. 115.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY

IN the preceding Chapter a detailed History of the Jews in Cambridge for some two centuries has been given—from their early arrival about the year 1073 to their banishment at the instigation of Eleanor, the Queen-mother, in 1275, fifteen years before the general *exilium Judæorum* from England.

And it will have been noticed how almost every feature in the treatment of the Jews during their sojourn in our land has been strikingly illustrated.

But, first of all, some disappointment may be felt that there are so few allusions to the University. Disappoint-

**The Jews
and the
University.** ment, however, depends upon expectation. What, therefore, might we naturally look for during the period referred to? It must be remembered that although the University had long been in existence and flourishing, yet in the year 1275, when the Jewish Chest was transferred from Cambridge, there was no *Collegiate system*. The students lived in hostels, or lodged in private houses. No royal or noble patrons, no great ecclesiastics, had founded colleges, or endowed lectureships or scholarships. The learners were poor, and so were the teachers. The Augustinian canons in the Barnwell Priory had never been noted for their interest in study; and even Thomas Baker admits that the Brothers of the Hospital of St. John are “not very learned.” The Franciscan Friars had indeed been resident in Cambridge for nearly half a century; but they had been confined to narrow quarters, and were only just moving into their celebrated monastery off what is now Sidney Street. The advancement of the

Dominicans in Cambridge coincided in time with the departure of the Jews.

Consequently all that could be expected would be the mention of the financial dealings of some early benefactor or some well-to-do official, or the purchase or acquirement of some Jewish stone-house;—and such allusions we do find.

Richard de Mountfichet, one of the agents of King John, comes before us as having dealings with the Jews on behalf of his royal master, and his name also occurs in the earliest list of University benefactors.

Those prominent officials of the University, the Bedells—though they were not yet entitled “Esquire Bedells”—were men of substance and importance; and the name of one of them, Stephen de Eye, figures on the *Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews* in the thirteenth century; while members of the families of two other bedells—the de Tuddenhams and the de Wesenhams—had dealings with the Jews.

Master Robert de Fulburn, who was Chancellor of the University in 1276, just after the Jews were removed from Cambridge, acquired certain stone houses in the Jewry.

A romantic story of Piers Gaveston and Aylmer of Valencia, Earl of Pembroke, who was connected with one of the earliest Cambridge colleges, has a link with Jewish history; but the curious tale is not incidental to our subject and is subsequent to our period.

These are the chief points of tangency between the University and the Jews of Cambridge. For of one other method of encounter—that of riots and tumults—which might perhaps have been expected—there is fortunately no record. And this is the more to be wondered at, as during the last half-century of the sojourn of the Jews in our University city there were not seldom riots between “town and gown,” and on the other hand between the various “nations” of the students. However, the “civil carriage” of the Jews and (let us hope) the good sense of the members of the University and their civic neighbours enabled them to

present a clean sheet, while in most other towns of England, where there were Jewries, scenes of bloodshed and plunder were not infrequent.

One piece of quasi-University property in Cambridge should, however, also be mentioned. Walter of Merton, the founder of the earliest college in Oxford, had provided for the possibility of failure in the Western, by acquiring possessions in the Eastern University; and the Merton estate at Cambridge has continued in the hands of its collegiate owners until the present day. Now, in connexion with our subject, we have seen that, in the year of the accession of Edward I., John le Moyne of Shelford, one of the Justices of the Jews, had been a benefactor to this estate; while, in the same year, a Jew named Saunte, the son of Ursell, had released the Warden of the Scholars of Merton and his establishment from certain bonds and debts.

There are also many instances of the dealings with the Jews on the part of the officials, as well as of benefactors

and friends, of the various monastic and conventual establishments in and about Cambridge.

The Jews and the Monastic Buildings of Cambridge. The Prior of the Augustinian canons of Barnwell frequently figures in the *Exchequer Rolls of the Jews*, not to mention the heads of the abbey at Walden, the priory at Royston, and other neighbouring institutions. "The Master of the Lepers" and the Brothers of the Hospital at Stourbridge appear on more than one occasion. St. John's Hospital, situate, as it was, "in the Jewry," naturally had connexion with Israelite property; whilst the list of monastic benefactors who dealt with Jewish financiers is a very long one, including as it does Michael Malherbe (Carmelites), John le Rus and Richard de Icklingham (Friars of the Sack), Henry le Barton (Brothers of St. Mary) Gilbert Pecche (Barnwell Canons), John le Moyne, Simon de Turri, John Porthors, and others (Nuns of St. Radegund), Geoffrey de Pitchford (Austin Friars), the old family of St. Edmund's (the White Canons of Sempringham), and others.

But, with regard to the general history of the Jews in England, almost all the circumstances of their strange career may be illustrated by examples taken from these Cambridge records.

The Jews
and the
Town of
Cambridge.

Here may be noted instances of most of the chief events in the public and private doings of this interesting people.

The hold the King had upon the lives and the property of the Jews; the houses and lands and chattels which he claimed as escheats; the share of the inheritance which he demanded; the debts which he remitted to his favourites, or the payment of which he postponed when his followers were on active service:

The powers delegated to a member of the Royal family (such as Prince Edward or the King of the Romans) when the Jewry was in his hands; or to the Queen, in connexion with a dower-town:

The organisation of Judaism and the Jewish Exchequer; and the special central and local courts for the ordering of Jewish finances or customs; the Justices, and their Jewish or Christian assistants; the Chests and the Chirographers; the temptations to which these officers were exposed; the removal of some from their posts, and the appointment of successors:

The Tallages and *Dona*; the assessors and the ferm-gatherers; the collection of the taxes and of the arrears; the using of the Jews themselves to help or advise; even the assembling of a Jewish public council or parliament; the personal offerings to the King:

The money-lending and usury in all its forms; the ceaseless financial negotiations by Jews and Jewesses; the enrolment of these affairs, the *starrs*, and the charters; the innumerable actions and law-suits:

Their dealings with bishops and abbots and priors; their curious difficulties with rectors and vicars; their transactions with noblemen and country gentlemen, with citizens and tradesmen; dealings sometimes carried on for two or three generations on either side:

The unpopularity and the outbursts of anti-Semitism—for (although, as has been pointed out, Cambridge was generally peaceable in its intercourse with its Jews, yet) we read of “a Jew slain,” and, in the particular case of the troubles in the Barons’ War, no Jewry suffered more than that in our town; and (although, as Fuller puts it, “here their carriage was very civil, not complained of—as elsewhere—for cruel crucifying Christian children and other enormities,” yet) it is perhaps to a Cambridge converted Jew that the first idea of the “blood-accusation” is due:

The other charges against the Jews are illustrated here; we read of convictions for coin-clipping, of amercements, of imprisonments, and even of hangings:

The local Jewry—and that in two forms—the early houses, the old synagogue, and the burial-place; and the newer Jewry, with its stone houses and other buildings:

The family life; the men of financial fame; and the women who had public money-dealings; the men of learning and literature; Jews of other towns who had settled here; and Jews of Cambridge who were known elsewhere:

The Jewish councils and gatherings; the titles, spiritual or temporal, of their officers; their decisions; their agreements and differences; as well as of converts, male and female, who left Cambridge for the monastic life or for the Home of Converts in London:

All these and other illustrations of Jewish life and customs may be found chronicled in our history of the Jews in Cambridge.¹

¹ As already indicated, the *official* character of the Records prevents them from throwing light on the inner spiritual life of the Jewish community. We have scarcely any remains, for instance, of the Jewish libraries. In addition to the facts already referred to on the subject in the course of the preceding chapters, the reader may consult the Rev. M. Abrahams’s paper on the pages of a Bury Synagogue liturgy now possessed by Pembroke College (*Jews’ College Jubilee Volume*, p. 109). Cf. also A. M. Hyamson, *A History of the Jews in England*, 1908, pp. 109–112.

PART V

THE JEWS IN CAMBRIDGE FROM THE
EXPULSION TO THE RETURN



CHAPTER I

TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

ON page 258 of Tovey's *Anglia Judiaca* the marginal note "Edw. I." is succeeded by the words "Oliver Cromwell," thus leaping over more than three and a half centuries. An interval of three and a half centuries.

During that period no unconverted Jew could legally enter England. There were, it is true, for some years after the Expulsion, a few members of the *Domus Conversorum*, and one or two Israelites are said to have circumvented the law and visited our shores. But until the days of the Reformation, and indeed until the middle of the sixteenth century, very few Jews set foot upon these islands.

It has been pointed out¹ that amongst the earliest inmates of the House of Converts was one Isabella of Cambridge, but in the list of residents after the Expulsion (printed in Mr. Adler's interesting paper²) there does not occur any name connected with our University town until the close of the Tudor dynasty.

In dealing with the Intermediate Period, therefore, we have nothing to report before the date of the Reformation, when the names of two learned Jews³ occur in the records of the University. Both of these teachers—Emmanuel Tremellius and Philip Ferdinand—had passed through Roman Catholicism to Protestantism.

The earlier of these, John Emmanuel Tremellius,⁴ was

¹ See p. 148.

² *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. iv. pp. 16-75.

³ With regard to the improbable assertion that Bucer died professing the Jewish religion, see Bayle's *Dictionnaire* (s.v.), with its curious note; and Dyer, *Privileges*, ii. p. 165.

⁴ See Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, pp. 425-6; Mullinger, *Camb. Univ.*, ii. p. 417.

the son of a Jew of Ferrara, in which city he was born in 1510. He was converted to the Christian faith by Tremellius. Reginald Pole, but afterwards came under the influence of Peter Martyr. He came to England early in the reign of Edward VI., and succeeded Paul Fagius as "King's reader of Hebrew" at Cambridge in 1549. At the beginning of the new academical year, after his appointment, a grace was passed¹ recommending him to the King; and, the Bishop of Ely supporting the petition, Tremellius was granted a canonry at Carlisle, with a dispensation while he was teaching at Cambridge. In his Preface to his Chaldee Grammar, he records with great pride that Matthew Parker had chosen him to be godfather to one of his children. Strype,² in chronicling (1st September 1551) the birth of the third son (Matthew) of the future Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "This was the son, I suppose, for whom the Doctor chose Immanuel Tremellius the foreigner (and then Hebrew Professor in the University) to stand godfather, to give the greater countenance to his learning and piety. For the Doctor was so pleased with this man, that there was maintained a great familiarity between them; as there seemed to be between their wives also. In July next year, I meet with a letter wrote by Tremellius from London to Parker, wherein salutations are sent from his wife to Mrs. Parker, and she sends a kiss to the little infant also."

"But it seemeth," says Fuller,³ "that soon after, either affrighted with the valetudinous condition of King Edward, or allured with bountiful proffers of the Prince Palatine, he returned to Heidelberg." On the continent he remained for the rest of his life, except that in the year 1565, when a pestilence was raging at his University, he paid a short visit to England, where (as he tells us in the Dedication⁴ already mentioned) he was hospitably received by Archbishop Parker

¹ *Baker's MSS.*, vol. xxiv. p. 114.

² *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker*, i. p. 59.

³ *Univ. of Cambridge* (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 245.

⁴ *Grammatica Chaldaea et Syriaca*, Paris, 1569, p. 6.

Tremellius was a voluminous writer; a list of learned works of which he was the author may be seen in Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses* (i. 425-6).

Philip Ferdinand,¹ a Polish Jew, who was born about the year 1555, after teaching Hebrew for a time at Oxford, proceeded to the sister University, where he matriculated on 12th December 1596. In the following Ferdinand. year he published at Cambridge a curious book,² consisting of a Latin version of the 613 Precepts of the Mosaic Law, together with certain extracts from Rabbinical literature. The work is dedicated to the students at the Universities, and contains interesting details as to his life and teaching. In spite, however, of his flattering references to the scholars, he does not seem to have been a financial success, as may be gathered from the following extract from Clarke's *Lives of Modern Divines*,³ where, under the biography of William Gouge, is this allusion, which doubtless refers to Ferdinand:—

“While he (Dr. Gouge) was a scholler in King's Colledge, there came a Jew to Cambridge, who was entertained in sundry Colledges to teach them the Hebrew tongue, and amongst the rest, in King's Colledge, and Master Gouge took the opportunity of learning of him, as many others of the students also did; but most of them grew soon weary, and left him, onely the said Master Gouge kept close to him as long as he tarried. But when he was gone, those which before had lost their opportunity, now seeing their own folly, they came to Master Gouge, and entreated him to instruct them in the grounds of the said language, which he accordingly did, and thereby himself became an excellent Hebrician.”

Another reference⁴ of somewhat later date also appears to deplore the departure of Ferdinand. William Eyre, a Fellow of Emmanuel, writing in 1607 to James Usher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh, regretted the loss of a Jew who had been his teacher, and had started his enthusiasm

¹ See Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii. pp. 239, 240, and 549.

² *Hæc sunt Verba Dei*, &c., Camb., 1597.

³ Clarke, 1677, p. 236.

⁴ Parr's *Usher* (1607), p. 4.

for the sacred tongue. Whilst he remained, he said, there existed "a slight hope that by his means a certain knowledge of the language might be kept alive in the University."

Not being able to gain a livelihood at Cambridge, Ferdinand proceeded to London, where he became an inmate of the *Domus Conversorum*. Mr. Trice Martin, in his paper¹ on that institution, published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society*, has given a facsimile of the "Receipt by Phillipus Ferdinando, convert, of 45s. 7½d., being a year's pension of 1½d. a day, due last Candlemas. Dated 3rd Feb. 1598[9]. 41 Eliz." He signs his name both in Latin and (punctuated) Hebrew, and adds the word "neophyta" in Greek characters.

Soon afterwards the celebrated Joseph Scaliger² obtained for him an appointment at Leyden. Writing to Isaac Casaubon, under date 12th January 1602, Scaliger says: "Two years ago I was the means of procuring a professorship in this University for a Jewish convert, my teacher in the Talmud; but he died and left my studies barren and desolate." The great scholar, in other letters, has admiring references to the stores of Talmudic lore which his Jewish friend had accumulated.

Yet another allusion to Philip Ferdinand must be quoted. Richard Montagu (afterwards Bishop of Chichester, &c.), arguing against Selden in his *Diatribæ upon the History of Tithes* (p. 384), says: "I have not knowne many Jewes, yet one I did, in Cambridge, that read Hebrew there, who affirmed himself to be a Levite. This man . . . died at Leyden in Scaliger's time."

The interesting reference to Ferdinand's claim to be a Levite will be noticed; and it may be added that, in the records of the *Domus Conversorum*, it is stated that a Jewess named Elizabeth Furdinando entered the House in the year 1603, and resided there for some time. As Mr. Michael Adler suggests,³ she was "perhaps the wife of Philip

¹ *Transactions*, vol. i. pp. 15-24.

² *Epistolæ*, 1627, pp. 208, 594.

³ *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. iv. p. 46.

Ferdinand. Her first name was, in all probability, given to her by Queen Elizabeth. This woman signs the only receipt we possess of her with the letter *ψ* or *ϙ* with a cross. Her name may have been originally *Sarah*."

Before leaving the Tudor period,¹ it may be remarked generally that towards the end of the sixteenth century several dramatic performances exhibited Jewish characters upon the stage, and specially—having re- Jews on
the Stage.ference to our University—it may be noticed that Christopher Marlow, of Corpus Christi College, who took his M.A. in 1587, may have composed his celebrated play, *The Jew of Malta*, in his college days, for it was publicly performed in the following year. Somewhat later, in 1597, a drama,² entitled *Machiavellus*, was acted at Cambridge. "In this play there is a Jew, but very unlike Shylock. He is a shrewd, intriguing fellow, of considerable humour, who, to obtain possession of a girl, puts a number of tricks on the Machiavel of the piece, and generally outwits him." The author of this comedy, which is written in Latin, was Joseph Wibarne, who was elected from Westminster School to Trinity College.

An interesting side-light on the study of Hebrew in Cambridge is thrown by the researches of Dr. Palmer among the *Inventories* of Peterborough. Dr. Palmer states that Hebrew books were frequently among the effects of Cambridge scholars during the first half of the sixteenth century.

¹ Benedict Spinola (who played so important a part in the unfortunate financial transactions which caused such anxiety to the authorities of Magdalene College in the reign of Queen Elizabeth) is said to have been a Jew. This merchant of Genoa was living as a "free denizen" in London. See Coke's *Reports* (edn. 1777), vi. p. 67; Fuller's *History of Cambridge, u.s.*, p. 233 n.; and Cooper's *Memorials*, ii. p. 166.

² *Douce MSS.*, Bodleian Library, 234; Fleay, *English Drama*, ii. p. 274.

CHAPTER II

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO THE RETURN

TURNING to the seventeenth century and the Stuart period, we come across two or three Jews residing in Cambridge, whom it is difficult to identify with much detail.

In Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams* (p. 10) we are told that the Lord Keeper when a student at Cambridge had read Hebrew with "Rabbi Jacob, a Jew born," and his biographer adds: "whom I remember for a long time a Commorant in the University." John Williams entered St. John's College in the year 1598, and proceeded B.A. in 1601 and M.A. four years later. He remained at Cambridge for some time longer. John Hacket, the writer of the Archbishop's life, joined the University in 1608, and remained in residence for a dozen years or so. A comparison of these dates would probably place "Rabbi Jacob" at Cambridge at the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century. A converted Jew, called Paul Jacob, figures on several occasions at a later date in certain State papers,¹ but there is nothing to connect him with Williams's tutor, or with Cambridge, except the name; and as Paul Jacob is mentioned some fifty years later, the identification is unlikely.

Again, in the *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1625 (p. 98), there is a record of a pension granted to a Jew at Cambridge, and a cross reference points to a minute in Conway's *Letter Book* (p. 227), where we read, under date 5th September 1625: "Secretary Conway

¹ *State Papers, Domestic*, James I., 1623-5, p. 517; *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. iv. pp. 48 and 73.

to Lord Treasurer Ley. To give order for a pension of £40 a year to a Jew at Cambridge, so long as he shall remain in his Majesty's dominions." Was this pensioner the Rabbi Jacob just mentioned? The date and the residence at the University town support the conjecture, which is more probable than the suggestion which has reference to Paul Jacob.

Though there is no fact which connects the last named Jew with Cambridge, it may be well to make some allusion to that convert.

Paul Jacob's name occurs at the foot of a curiously worded petition¹ to King James I., asking pecuniary assistance for himself and his family. The document, which is printed in a volume of the *State Papers (Domestic)* connected with the reign of that monarch, is not dated. The petitioner describes himself as having been "converted by the pious industry . . . of George, Lord Bishop of Londonderry." Paul Jacob.

Soon after the Restoration another petition was presented to Charles II. by Peter Samuel and Paul Jacob, asking help and referring to the *Domus Conversorum*. The result is not known; but Mr. Adler has pointed out² that, at a subsequent date (1687), the names of "Peter Samuel and Jacob Maza, two converted Jews, were allowed 1½d. a day towards their maintenance." This, however, is a misquotation; the first name of Maza in the document referred to is *John*, and not Jacob.

Paul Jacob therefore appears and disappears in uncertainty.

An interesting incident³ in the troublous times of the Civil War may be here recorded. The following votes of the House of Commons, dated 24th March 1647[8], explain the circumstances:—

Hebrew
Books.

¹ *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. iv., p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, p. 48; but see Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 227; and Gibson, *Camden*, p. 383.

³ *Commons' Journals*, v. 512; *Cooper's Annals*, iii. p. 421.

"RESOLVED, &c., That the sum of £2000 be forthwith advanced and bestowed upon the University of Cambridge, to be employed towards the Building and Finishing of the Public Library there, &c.

"ORDERED, by the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that the sum of £500 be charged upon, and forthwith paid out of, the receipts at Goldsmiths' Hall, unto Mr. George Thomason, Stationer, for buying of the said Thomason a Library or Collection of Books, in the Eastern Languages, of very great Value, lately brought out of Italy, and having been the Library of a learned Rabbi there, according to the printed Catalogue thereof: and that the said Library or Collection of Books, be bestowed upon the Public Library in the University of Cambridge, &c. . . . that the Kingdom may not be deprived of so great a treasure, nor Learning want so great an Encouragement. And Sir Anthony Irby is particularly appointed to the Care of this Business.

"The Lords' Concurrence to be desired herein.

"ORDERED, That Sir Anthony Irby do, from this House, take notice to Mr. Thomason of his good service in this Purchase, and bringing over, from Italy, the Parcel of Books in the Eastern Languages; and to give him the thanks of this House, for his good Affections therein to the Encouragement of Learning in this Kingdom.

"ORDERED, That Mr. Selden and Mr. Lightfoote do take care, that the University of Cambridge may have the said Books; and that they may be preserved for them according to the printed Catalogue."

The learned Rabbi, whose library was thus secured, was Isaac Pragi. His books formed [says Mr. Bradshaw]¹—

"the foundation of our Hebrew library. Another small addition was made about twenty years later; they occupied one bookcase; and they [till lately] were the solitary instance of a collection retaining its character as such, and remaining intact without any change of notation from that time to the present. The Pragi books are almost all uniformly bound, and many of them bear the thumb-marks of successive generations of

¹ *Collected Papers*, pp. 195, 196.

Cambridge Hebraists, to whom these quaint red bindings and red-lettered edges are many of them familiar. It is, perhaps, owing to this vote of the Commons that Selden is mentioned in our Commemoration service as a benefactor to the Library. A body so loyal to the Crown as the University showed itself after the Restoration, was, of course, bound altogether to ignore any act of munificence displayed towards it by the Parliament during the Civil War; though they did not feel bound to disgorge all the good things they had become possessed of thereby. Certainly there are no traces of Selden's benefactions in any other form."

PART VI

**THE JEWS OF CAMBRIDGE FROM THE
RETURN**

CHAPTER I

THE RETURN

WE now arrive at the period of the Commonwealth, and the removal of the legal restriction which closed England to the Jews. The general history of the Return need not here be discussed. It is rather with the Cambridge aspects of the question that we have to deal. Cromwell's efforts on behalf of the Jews and the celebrated convention called by him in December 1655 will therefore only be referred to, in order to recall the fact that among the preachers summoned¹ to attend the Protector and his Council, the first three named were the following distinguished representatives of the University of Cambridge—Dr. Tuckney, the Master of St. John's College, Dr. Whichcot, the Provost of King's, and Dr. Cudworth, who was Master of Christ's and Regius Professor of Hebrew.

The following curious incident, quoted by Tovey² from Raguenet's *Histoire d'Oliver Cromwell*, shows the interest taken in the Protector by the people whom he laboured to re-establish:—

The Return.

Jacob ben Azahel.

"It is that the Asiatick Jews, much about the time of Manasseh's coming into England, sent hither, likewise, the noted Rabbi Jacob Ben Azahel, with several others of his nation, to make private inquiry whether Cromwell was not that Messiah whom they had so long expected. Which deputies, upon their arrival, pretending other business, were several times indulged the favour of a private audience from him. And as one of them proposed buying³ the Hebrew books and manu-

¹ Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 269.

² *Ibid.*, p. 275; Raguenet, p. 290.

³ "That the Library should have been sold by Cromwell to Asiatic Jews, no one professed to have heard, not even Mr. Baker," says Z. C. von Uffenbach, in his account of his *Visit to Cambridge* (ed. Prof. J. E. B. Mayor), p. 195.

scripts belonging to the University of Cambridge, in order to have an opportunity, under pretence of viewing them, to inquire amongst his relations in Huntingdonshire, where he was born, whether any of his ancestors could be proved of Jewish extraction.

“This project of theirs was very readily agreed to (the University being at that time under a cloud, on account of their former loyalty to the King); and accordingly the **Was Crom-** ambassadors set forwards upon their journey. But **well the** discovering by their much longer continuing at **Messiah?** Huntingdon than at Cambridge, that their business at the last place was not such as was pretended, and by not making their inquiries into Oliver’s pedigree with that caution and secrecy which was necessary in such an affair, the true purpose of their errand into England became quickly known at London, and was very much talked of; which causing great scandal among the *Saints*, he was forced suddenly to pack them out of the Kingdom, without granting any of their requests. By which means, that valuable treasure of Oriental learning happily continued in those hands which were most likely to make the proper use of it.”

Shortly after the Restoration of the Monarchy, some interesting references to certain Jews in Cambridge may be gleaned from the archives of **Jewish Teachers at Trinity.** Trinity College,¹ whence are extracted the following notices:—

Payments under the head of *Donations* in the Senior Bursar’s Books—

	£	s.	d.
1663. To the Jew his first payment by order of the Master	1	10	0
[Similar entries for the 2nd and 3rd quarters.]			
1664. To Senior Sciality the converted Jew at £1, 6s. 8d. p. q., pro toto anno . . .	5	6	8
To Abendena y ^e Jew at £1, 10s. p. q., pro toto anno	6	0	0
1665. To Abendena y ^e Jew pro toto anno . . .	6	0	0
To Scialetti the Jew [3 qrs.]	4	0	0
To a converted Jew Michael	0	10	0

¹ The writer thanks the Rev. A. H. F. Boughey, for kindly making these extracts from the Senior Bursar’s books.

1666. To Abendena pro toto anno	6	0	0
1667. To Abendena the Jew towards the redeem- ing of his books and papers	2	0	0

The first of these Jews here mentioned, Isaac Abendana,¹ was a member of a family celebrated for learning and piety. One of his brothers, Jacob, was subsequently appointed Haham of the London community. Isaac
Abendana. Isaac had already published certain works before his engagement at Trinity. He does not, however, seem to have found the fees which he received from that college, nor the payments which he doubtless had from private pupils, sufficient to meet his wants; and the last entry—the grant “towards the redeeming of his books and papers”—speaks, it is to be feared, of financial difficulties. Meantime he was working laboriously with his pen—a monumental record of which remains in the University Library at Cambridge, in the form of six thick (manuscript) quarto volumes. In Worthington's *Diary*,² in the year 1660, the learned Master of Jesus College wrote urging “the publication of the *Mishna* in Latin; and this was the heavy task which Isaac Abendana undertook. On certain blank pages in these volumes may be seen memoranda of the payments recommended by Dr. Spencer, the learned Master of Corpus, Cudworth, Lightfoot, and others. Several of these suggested payments are dated in the month of August 1671.

Isaac Abendana afterwards migrated to Oxford,³ from which University he carried on a correspondence with Dr. Covell, who succeeded Cudworth as head of Christ's. Some of the letters referred to the *Jewish Calendars*, which our

¹ See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, i. 53.

² *Diary*, vol. i. p. 242.

³ “His name occurs in the accounts of Magdalen College, as receiving, in 1691, £2 for teaching Hebrew in this College. He edited the *Oxford Almanack and Jewish Calendar* from 1692 till about 1700, and resided in Oxford during that period, his chief patron being Dr. Arthur Charlett, Master of University College.” See Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library* (2nd edn.), p. 134; A. Neubauer, *Notes on the Jews in Oxford, Collectanea*, O.H.S., p. 316.

author issued for several years; others to the Bodleian Bowl,¹ a drawing of which had been sent to him by Covell. Most of these epistles were written during the last decade of the seventeenth century. The date of Isaac Abendana's death is not known; but a volume, entitled *Discourses on the Ecclesiastical and Civil Polity of the Jews*, was published by him in the year 1706.

The second name in the entries in the Bursar's Book is that of "Senior Sciallity, the converted Jew," who for about two years received the same amount of fees as were assigned to Isaac Abendana. **Moses Sciallitti.** Moses Sciallitti was an Italian Rabbi, whose conversion to Christianity caused a considerable stir very shortly after the restoration of Charles II. He was baptized² at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, upon Trinity Sunday, 1663, by the Very Rev. Dr. Warmestre, Dean of Worcester; his godfathers being the Bishop of Chester (Dr. George Hall) and Dr. Samuel Collins, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, while the Countess of Huntingdon stood as his godmother. In the year 1663, Paul Colend Scialitti—whose Christian name assumed at baptism will be noticed—issued a volume, in Italian and in English, entitled "*A Letter*³ *written to the Jews*, by Rabbi Moses Scialitti, a Jew of Florence, baptized June 14, 1663 . . . declaring the reasons of his conversion, and exhorting them to embrace the Christian Faith." Tovey gives long extracts from this work in his *Anglia Judaica*. What became of Signior Scialitti is not known; indeed, the *Jewish Encyclopedia* does not mention his name.

Of the name given in the Trinity list—that of "a converted Jew, Michael"—nothing is known; for there is no reason to connect him with a certain **Michael** Ben Alexander, who some years previously had

¹ See Mr. I. Abrahams's paper in the *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. v. pp. 184–192; with the reports as therein quoted. On Abendana's *Mishna* see the same writer's remarks in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, 1909, p. 167.

² Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 260.

³ London, 1663, 4to.

petitioned Parliament for losses he had sustained on the English coast.

In the year 1666 a certain individual publicly declared himself to be the *Wandering Jew*. In a letter¹ written by the Duchess of Mazarine, who was then in England, it is stated that—

“The two Universities sent several doctors to examine him, who, with all their skill, were not able to discover the least contradiction in his discourse. One very learned man spoke to him in Arabic, and he answered in the same tongue, &c.”

In the account of the visit to Cambridge by Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach in the year 1710, that scholar says:—²

“I must further mention that I also enquired of Mr. Baker [the learned ejected Fellow of St. John's College] respecting the *Wandering Jew*. But neither he nor others whom I likewise asked, as Dr. Covel, &c., professed to know anything at all about it; which astonishes me the more, as Tenzel,³ if I remember right, reports that the *professores* of this University conferred with the Wandering Jew, and were surprised at the many languages spoken by him, &c.”

¹ Calmet, *Dict. de la Bible*, “Juif Errant”; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 285, 286.

² Z. C. von Uffenbach, ed. by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, p. 194.

³ *Monatlichen Unterredungen*, vi., an. 1694, p. 799.

CHAPTER II

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

DURING the eighteenth century,¹ we do not meet with many Jews in Cambridge; but the records of one family must be dealt with in some detail, for members of it were resident in the town for seventy years or more.

Israel Lyons, a Polish Jew, was, according to Cole the antiquary,² living, in the year 1732, in a lane at the Great Bridge foot, called the Pond-Yards; but he afterwards removed to a house in St. John's Lane, near the corner of Green Street. Later on, towards the end of his career, he occupied the corner house of the Regent Walk,³ a short street then running from opposite the west front of Great St. Mary's Church to the façade of the University Library.

Israel Lyons was a silversmith, but he also for many years gave lessons in Hebrew to members of the University. It is to be noted that none of the Jews hitherto mentioned, nor any whom we may refer to later on, technically held a Professorship in the University; although certain biographies and dictionaries contain statements to the contrary. Lyons, on the title-page⁴ of one of his works, styles himself "Teacher of the Hebrew tongue in the University of Cambridge," and at the foot of a copy of Hebrew verses, included in an official volume,⁵ he signs himself Israel Lyons, "L. S.

¹ In the first year of the eighteenth century the degree of M.A. was by royal mandate conferred upon Moïse de Soul (Moses Solanus); who, in February 1708, published at Cambridge a specimen of his *Lucian*. See Professor J. E. B. Mayor's *Communication* to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, May 8, 1882.

² *Addl. MSS.* (British Museum), 5875, f. 96.

³ *Bowtell MSS.* (Downing College), vol. iii. p. 236.

⁴ *The Scholar's Instructor.*

⁵ *Pietas Acad. Cant. in funere Principis Wilhelminæ Carolinæ et luctu Georgii II.*, A. 1738.

Informator." These titles show that he had a certain sanction from the authorities in his linguistic teaching about the Holy Scriptures. Some of the colleges, too, directly helped him and engaged his services. From the *Conclusion Book*¹ of St. John's College, for instance, under date 31st January 1764, we read: "Agreed to give Israel Lyons, the teacher of Hebrew, five guineas." At Gonville and Caius, a Hebrew Lectureship² had been founded in 1585 by Dame Joyce Frankland, and has been regularly held ever since by members of the college, latterly by distinguished scholars. But for many years the appointments were merely formal; hence we are not surprised to read that during the incumbency of John Mott, M.D., a college order "was passed (April 27, 1744) to pay £5 a year to Mr. Israel Lyons 'that he shall instruct our scholars in the Hebrew language.' Lyons (says Dr. Venn, the historian of Caius) continued to lecture for some years, being paid out of the college funds, whilst the nominal lecturer treated the office as a sinecure."

Several works proceeded from his pen; including a Hebrew Grammar, entitled *The Scholar's Instructor*,³ which passed through four editions, and a curious volume of *Observations Relating to Various Parts of Scripture History*,⁴ "sold by the author in the Regent Walk." The Hebrew verses mentioned above were included in a volume of consolatory verses written by members of the University upon the death of Queen Caroline (*Pietas Acad. Cant., ut supra*, 1738).

Israel Lyons died on the 19th of August 1770, and, as he had expressed a desire to be buried in the churchyard of St. Mary the Great, opposite to which he had lived during the latter part of his life, the burial service is said to have been read by his daughter.

This daughter, Judith Lyons,⁵ was, according to Bowtell,

¹ Baker-Mayor, ii. p. 1040.

² Venn, *Biographical History of Gonville and Caius College*, iii. 247.

³ מורה תלמידים, Cambridge, 1735.

⁴ *Scripture History*, 1768.

⁵ *Bowtell MSS.*, vi. 2233.

"a sensible and ingenious woman, but took to the mean practice of fortune-telling, and died a pauper in All Saints' Parish, where she was buried 21st April 1795."

There was also a son, who was a remarkable character. Israel Lyons, junior,¹ was born in Cambridge in the year 1739. Dr. Robert Smith, the Master of Trinity, offered to put him to school, owing to his cleverness in mathematics, but he went only for a few days, saying he could learn more by himself in an hour than with his master in a day. When he was nineteen years old, he published a remarkable *Treatise of Fluxions*. He also devoted considerable attention to botanical studies, issuing a *Fasciculus Plantarum* in 1763.

In the year following the publication of this volume he gave a course of lectures on Botany at Oxford, at the instance of Sir Joseph Banks, who had been one of his pupils. In December 1770, according to an advertisement in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, he "proposed to publish by subscription a correct Map of Cambridgeshire, from an actual survey by himself, with accurate instruments of the best construction." In 1773 he accompanied Captain Phipps (afterwards Lord Mulgrave) in his expedition towards the North Pole. He received £100 per annum as calculator of the *Nautical Almanac*. In March 1774 he married, at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, Phœbe, daughter of Newman Pearson, of Over, Cambridgeshire; but his busy and crowded life terminated about a year later, his death taking place "at his house in Rathbone Place,² London, on 1st May 1775, at the comparatively early age of 36."

His library was sold in 1777 by John Pridden,³ of Fleet Street.

Cole, the antiquary, in his voluminous MSS.,⁴ preserved in the British Museum, has left material enough almost to reconstruct the lives and habits of his Cambridge contem-

¹ Cooper's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 381.

² *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1775, i. p. 254.

³ Nichols, *Lit. Anec.*, ii. 327, 419; iii. 661; viii. 208.

⁴ *Additional MSS.* (British Museum), 5875, f. 96.

poraries. Some of his observations upon his neighbours he has blotted out, and it is to be wished that he had been more restrained in his allusions to their failings. It is not necessary to refer to his account of the moral character of the versatile young Jew whom we have been chronicling. One remark, however, may be extracted: "Israel Lyons, senior, his son and daughter, were often fighting together," says Cole, who adds, "and the Jews of Cambridge regarded them as unorthodox." This characteristic quotation from the garrulous antiquary might well have been left buried in his extraordinary volumes, but that the addendum opens up to us a view of the Cambridge Jewry of that date. So few records¹ exist of the Jews in the University town during this period that, without this allusion, and another reference about to be given, it might have been thought that Cambridge was as void of Jews² in the eighteenth as in the fifteenth century.

The following quotation, however, confirms the casual remark made by Cole. "In my time," says Dyer, in his *Privileges of Cambridge* (ii. 160), "there was in the town an academy for Jews, and there was a small synagogue opened for public worship." George Dyer, the historian about whom Charles Lamb wrote so charmingly, was in residence at Emmanuel College from 1774 till 1778. But of "the academy for Jews," whatever that may mean, and of the synagogue, the present writer knows nothing further.

A suggestive light, however, is thrown by the following extract from a letter written to a young colleague by the well-known Cambridge dissenting minister, Robert Robinson, under date 1783 (*Select Works*, London, 1861, p. 204): "The Jewish Rabbi visited me the other day, and told me

¹ In the notorious case of Dr. Ewin, who was charged with money-lending to undergraduates in the year 1778, references are made to a Portuguese Jew named Silva, who also went by the name of A. Grove. Cooper, *Annals*, iv. p. 389.

² In 1752 one Sulaman forwarded to the University authorities, with an autograph letter, a printed appeal (*inter alia*) on behalf of the Jews. *Luvar MSS.*, II. 789 (56), University Registry.

that he had only four pupils in the University; and he should teach you here every morning Hebrew."

These allusions in Cole, Dyer, and Robinson are interesting as showing—as indeed might have been expected—that there was a Jewry of some sort in Cambridge during the eighteenth century.

The only other matters which call for comment during this period are the number of Hebrew poems—some of them mere doggerel—which appear in congratulatory or condolatory volumes of verses addressed to royalty on certain public occasions by the professors and the scholars¹ of the University; and the fact that a well-known Fellow of Trinity wrote a comedy, entitled *The Jew*, which ran through numerous editions, and otherwise obtained considerable notice. Richard Cumberland,² the author of this drama (which, by the bye, presents a favourable view of the Hebrew character), was the great-grandson of another Richard Cumberland, who was Bishop of Peterborough from 1691 to 1718, and who was the author of a remarkable treatise on *Jewish Weights and Measures*.

¹ It may be added that, among the subjects set for prize poems and essays, were occasionally themes relating to Jewish questions: *e.g.* "The Restoration of the Jews" was proposed for the Seatonian Prize in 1792; there was, however, no competitor, or at any rate none successful; the same subject was set in 1793, with the same result. But in 1794 yet again the same theme called forth a successful poem by Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Wrangham. The same question was also proposed for the Norrisian Prize in 1796.

² Richard Cumberland was the grandson of Dr. Bentley, the celebrated Master of Trinity, being the son of his daughter Joanna. Monk's *Bentley*, ii. 113, 267.

CHAPTER III

THE BEGINNING OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

IN 1801 and several preceding years, we are told,¹ many burglaries were committed in Cambridge. Most of the colleges were robbed of plate to a considerable amount. It was at length alleged² that the parties concerned in these robberies were Richard Kidman, a whitesmith, residing in Bell Lane; William Grimshaw, a chimney-sweep, who dwelt in a lone house near Christ's College [Pieces; and Henry Cohen, a Jew, who, it was suggested, disposed of the plunder. All these parties were apprehended, and tried at the Lent Assizes this year before Sir Nash Grose. Kidman pleaded guilty to two indictments, and received sentence of death, which was ultimately commuted to transportation for life. Grimshaw was convicted of burglary, and was executed at the Castle on the 28th of March. Cohen was arraigned for being an accessory before the fact to a burglary in Caius College, but, being acquitted, was remanded till the Summer Assizes, when he was tried on another indictment, as being an accessory after the fact. A verdict of "Not guilty" was brought in.

It may be added that Cohen was described as "an itinerant pedler,"³ who made his headquarters at Cambridge

¹ *Cambridge Chronicle*, 1801, February 7th, March 25th, April 4th, and July 25th; Gunning's *Reminiscences*, pp. 97, 118-124, 250; Cooper's *Annals*, iv. pp. 470, &c.

² *The Trials of Grimshaw, Kidman, and Cohen*, by J. Newby. Cambridge, printed by J. Burges, Printer to the University, 1801.

³ It ought, on an earlier page, to have been pointed out that such notes as the following may occasionally be found in University memoranda: "1753, June 16th.—At 7 o'clock, a meeting was held, in Clare Hall, of the Heads and Tutors, to consider how to remedy the mischief arising from peddling Jews dealing with scholars." See Hubbard's *Journal*, p. 38.

for some eight or nine years, residing some time at the "Black Lion," some time at the house of Mr. Greef, a plumber and glazier, and some time at a house of his own in St. Botolph Lane.

We turn, again, to certain Jews who were connected with the intellectual life of the University, gaining a somewhat precarious livelihood by teaching Hebrew in Cambridge. The first to be mentioned is described in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* as "Professor Lyon," but it must be understood that none of these teachers of the sacred language held any University official appointment, except now and then a subsidiary lectureship at one of the colleges.

The Rev. Solomon Lyon, in the year 1815, published, at Liverpool, *A Theological Hebrew Grammar and Lexicon*, on the title-page of which he describes himself as "Teacher of Hebrew to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, Eton College, &c." A fairly long list of subscribers is added, among whom may be noticed Dr. Marsh, Margrait (*sic*) Professor of Divinity, the Rev. R. Tyrwhitt of Jesus College, the Rev. C. Simeon of King's, &c. Mr. Lyon also published, in the year 1810, a treatise entitled *Explanation of, and Observations on, an Antique Medal*, found near Huntingdon.

Among the pupils¹ of Solomon Lyon was Isaac Nathan, who afterwards gained considerable celebrity as a musician and composer.² Born at Canterbury in 1792, Nathan was sent to Cambridge as a lad in 1805 to study for the Jewish ministry.³ But owing to his love of music, he was articled to Corri, the Italian composer. His subsequent career as a teacher of music, a fashionable singing master, and a dramatic and musical composer, need not here be dwelt upon. It may, however, be wondered, in connexion with the fact that he afterwards set to music Lord Byron's "Hebrew

¹ Picciotto, in his *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, pp. 285 and 314, gives a long list of distinguished pupils who studied Hebrew under Mr. Lyon. Among these were H.R.H. the Duke of Sussex, Dr. Mansell, &c.

² *Transactions J. H. S. E.*, vol. ii. pp. 5, 6.

³ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article by G. Lipkind, formerly of St. John's Coll., Cambridge.

Melodies," whether the young musical genius had met the celebrated poet in his undergraduate days—for the writer of the verse and the composer of the music were at the University at the same time.

Another Jew who taught Hebrew at Cambridge was Rabbi Joseph Crool,¹ a native of Hungary,² who was a man of considerable, if not profound, learning, and of curious, not to say eccentric, habits. "He was in the habit of wearing a parchment girdle, on which were inscribed passages from the Law and the Talmud." He was the author of several volumes, to which he prefixed or appended curious remarks. At the end of one of his works, he added, "Rabbi Joseph Crool respectfully informs the public, that he has intended, for a considerable time, to publish a translation and explanation of all the difficult passages in the Old Testament. If any person would step forward to encourage him, by bearing part of the expence with him, he thinks it would be of great service to the public." The volume, to which this advertisement is appended, is entitled a "Service of the Synagogue of the Jews at Manchester (on March 8, 1803, being the day appointed for a general Fast), delivered in Hebrew by Rabbi Joseph Crool, and translated by him into English." Another work was published, with a very talkative preface, at Nottingham in 1805: "The importance and necessity of a more general knowledge of the Hebrew Language stated; with a short comment on some mistranslations in the English Bible." On the title-page of a book called *The Restoration of Israel* (1812), he describes himself as "Teacher of the Hebrew Language in the University of Cambridge." To this work an elaborate answer was issued by Thomas Scott, the well-known commentator on the Bible. Crool was opposed to the emancipation of the Jews,³ believing that the introduction of Jews to Christians in the Legislature would lead

¹ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, article by the same writer.

² See Preface to Nottingham volume, 1805.

³ *Jewish Chronicle*, June 30, 1848; *Cambridge Independent Press*, June 11, 1848.

to the conversion of the former to Christianity. On this subject he published, at Cambridge in 1829, a volume named *The Last Generation*. In the same year appeared another book of his with the following curious title: "*The Fifth Empire*, delivered in a discourse by 36 men; every one made a speech . . . and it is decided among them that the Fifth Empire is to be the inheritance of the people of Israel."

CHAPTER IV

THE SYNAGOGUES OF CAMBRIDGE

IN the former part of this work¹ it has been pointed out that in the earliest days of the Jews in Cambridge there was a synagogue near the town gaol, by the site of the present Guildhall, and that this building was assigned by the burgesses to the Franciscans on the coming of those Friars to the University town in the year 1224.

The new Jewry had by that date been established in the parishes of the Holy Sepulchre and of All Saints. Here also there was doubtless a synagogue. Whether Baker² is correct in associating the name with the stone house which formerly stood next to St. John's Hospital, and which was known as "Bede's House," is a disputed question. That the Round Church was originally a Jewish place of worship is, of course, a long-exploded theory.

Coming nearer to modern times, a passage has been quoted from Dyer's *Privileges*,³ in which that amiable historian asserts that in his time (1774 to 1778) there was a small synagogue used for public worship by the Jews of Cambridge. The site of this building is not stated.

Within the memory of living inhabitants, there was a synagogue at the back of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Cambridge Jews, in the middle of the last century, making their headquarters (as itinerant peddlers) in the same district in which, ages before, their predecessors had their

¹ See p. 114.

² *History of St. John's College, Cambridge* (ed. by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor), i. p. 27.

³ *Privileges of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 160.

Jewry. Before the erection of the buildings of the Cambridge Union Society behind the Round Church, there was a small labyrinth of lanes, in one of the somewhat dilapidated houses of which the synagogue referred to was established.

The following quotation from *The Jewish Chronicle*, under date May 28, 1847, shows us the date of the formation of this Jewish congregation :—

“ *Cambridge.*—We have been favoured with the perusal of a letter received by Mr. Benjamin Hart, from Mr. L. Cohen, of Cambridge, stating that a Synagogue had been formed in that town, being the first Jewish Congregation ever held there. A Sepher Torah (Scroll of the Law) had already been procured ; the first public attendance for divine worship took place during the recent Pentecost, when twenty persons were present. The offerings were very liberal. The pious seed having thus taken root, we sincerely pray that by concord and brotherly love a mighty edifice to the adoration of the God of Israel may spring up and prosper. The officers elected for the present year are—Mr. Lazarus Cohen, Reader and Warden ; Mr. Jacob Hartman, Treasurer and Warden.”

This interesting communication is quoted in full, that it may be noted how innocently ignorant these pious Jews were, not only of the fact that their ancestors had worshipped in the same quarters many centuries previously, but also of the congregations of their predecessors a few generations before their own time.

It will be noticed in the extract from *The Jewish Chronicle* that the warden, a layman, acts as a Reader. This accords with the tradition of the Cambridge congregation, at least in the nineteenth century, for no appointment of an official minister is recorded in connexion with the University town.

It may be remarked that Mr. Lazarus Cohen was living in Hobson Street as late as 1868, for in that year he voted in the election of the borough members. (In a similar record for the year 1832 occurs the name of Abraham Emmanuel, silversmith, of King Street.)

On the destruction, in 1873, of the old buildings behind the Round Church, the Jews worshipped for a while in a house in Regent Street; and later on, about the year 1888, they met in a room behind a tobacconist's shop in the Petty Cury.

Subsequently they held their services on the first floor of Messrs. Barrett's establishment in Great St. Mary's Passage, from which the congregation, after a short occupation of a room in Park Terrace, has lately moved to Sidney Street.

CHAPTER V

BEFORE AND AFTER THE ABOLITION OF UNIVERSITY TESTS

IN addition to the foregoing facts, some details as to the connexion of the Jews with the University have been compiled by Mr. I. Abrahams as follows:—

Some Christian students of Jewish parentage, or non-conforming Jews, occasionally entered early in the nineteenth century at various colleges, as may be seen from the list of *Graduati Cantabrigienses*. Among them was Ralph Bernal (afterwards Bernal Osborne), of Christ's, B.A. in 1806, a year in which the interest in the Jews was stimulated by the presentation to the University Library of Buchanan's Hebrew books and MSS., collected among the "Black Jews" of Malabar. In 1830 Hermann Bernard (formerly Horwitz, according to Zedner), who had been brought up as a Christian, settled in Cambridge as a private teacher, and in 1837 succeeded Crool as "Preceptor Linguae Sacrae." He died at Cambridge in 1857, "after," as one of his pupils, Dr. C. Taylor records,¹ "teaching there with marked success for twenty-seven years." The first professing Jew to enter as a student was the famous mathematician, Professor J. J. Sylvester. He entered St. John's College, matriculating on November 14, 1831; he was Second Wrangler in 1837. In the same year was begun the erection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, the architect of which, George Basevi, was by birth a Jew, and related by marriage to the Disraelis. Sylvester did not take his degree till 1872, after the abolition of the Test, though he could have proceeded to the lower

¹ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Bernard."

degree, and even to the M.A. (the latter as a "non-declarant,"¹ and without the right to vote in the Senate) at any time after 1856. That Sylvester was able to enter for the Tripos (though he could not take his degree) so early as 1837 was due to the circumstance that whereas at Oxford tests had at the time to be taken before matriculation or admission to membership, at Cambridge no tests were imposed until proceeding to a degree.² In 1854 the same regulation was applied at Oxford. By the Cambridge University Reform Act of 1856 tolerance went further, for all undergraduate honours and emoluments were thrown open without tests, though in both Universities Jews (and other nonconformists) were inadmissible to membership of the Senate. The actual wording of the test (at M.A.) from 1856 to 1872 was: "I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as by law established."

The first Jew to take a degree in Cambridge was Arthur Cohen (now K.C. and University Counsel); he proceeded to the B.A. in 1858. Mr. Cohen experienced much difficulty in finding a college willing to receive him, but by the personal intervention of the Prince Consort he was accepted at Magdalene. His personal popularity among his contemporaries was soon shown by his election to the Secretaryship (Easter, 1852) and Presidency (Easter, 1853) of the Union Society. Cohen was Fifth Wrangler in 1853. In 1869 the Union passed a resolution against University Tests; in 1865 they had declared in the opposite sense, and in the later year (1869) elected Israel Davis (Scholar of Christ's) to the Vice-Presidency. In the same year Numa Hartog (Trinity College) was Senior Wrangler. Five years earlier (1864) D. L. Alexander (now K.C.) of Trinity Hall was a Wrangler, and took his B.A. degree; but the assertion in the *Jewish Encyclo-*

¹ In 1870, before the passing of the Test Act, Mr. Leopold de Rothschild took the M.A. as a "non-declarant."

² The subject of the University Tests is admirably dealt with by Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques on pp. 208 *seq.* in his volume, *The Jews and the English Law*, issued to members of this Society in 1908. (See also *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xii., &c.)

pedia that Ernest A. Hart had entered Queens' College some decade previously is inaccurate; Hart never proceeded to Cambridge. A strong feeling against the continuance of Tests grew up in Cambridge, especially at Trinity College, between 1860-70. With the passing of the Act of 1871 abolishing the Tests, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge attracted a good number of Jewish students, who have won distinction both at the Universities and in the public services.

As Mr. Henriques points out (*op. cit.* p. 211), the Tests Act "does not apply to new foundations, but refers only to colleges subsisting at the time of its passage. It is therefore open for the adherents of any legally recognised religion to establish a college or hall in any of the Universities, and conduct it on purely sectarian principles. The Jews have never attempted to create such a foundation." But the idea has been mooted, and the late Professor W. Robertson Smith was keenly in favour of the purchase by the Jewish community of what was once Cavendish College, and of the transference thither of the Jews' College from London. In the evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords¹ occurs an interesting passage in which an even wider proposal was adumbrated. The passage is worth reproducing, though it is more relevant to Oxford. Mr. C. Appleton gave evidence on February 24, 1871 :—

"629. Then every religion might have its professor; you would have a Jewish professor, for instance?

"I am not sure about that. I do not see any objection to it, so far as principle is concerned, if a large number of Jews went to Oxford.

¹ Numa Hartog gave evidence on March 3, 1871. He showed how the tests had within a decade prevented four Senior Wranglers from applying for Fellowships. Besides pointing out the hardship of this deprivation of reward, Mr. Hartog said: "1241. I think the abolition of tests would be a benefit to the University, as enabling the University to have a better choice of men to fill the high offices; and also it would have a beneficial effect in removing the suspicion which now attaches to many who do sign the test that their signatures are given simply as a matter of form, and not as a matter of real belief."

“630. If they wished it?

“Yes; as a matter of fact there is a good deal of work at Oxford at this moment in the department of Oriental literature, done by a well-known Jewish *savant*,¹ who is employed there. He is on the best of terms with the Professors of Divinity and Hebrew, who, along with many clergymen, are very glad to apply to him for help in their Biblical studies. I do not see any harm that would arise from setting up a Jewish faculty of theology, provided a considerable number of Jews went to Oxford. In fact, it would be an exceedingly useful institution.”

A similar remark might have been made of Cambridge. Dr. Schiller-Szinessy, after a romantic career in Hungary, came to England, and finally settled in Cambridge from 1863, and in 1868 the University Library Syndicate commissioned him to prepare a catalogue of the Hebrew MSS. This scholar created a school and a legend, and quaint stories are still current about him. That he stimulated the study of Rabbinic in the University is unquestionable. After for some years acting as Hebrew teacher in an unofficial capacity, he was elected Teacher of Talmudic Literature (1869-1875). In 1875 he was appointed (grace May 27, 1875) Reader in the same studies for ten years; he was made an honorary M.A. in 1876. By a grace of the Senate, December 3, 1883, the Readership was established on a firmer basis, and Dr. Schiller-Szinessy filled the office till his death in 1890. The Readership was revived after a short interregnum (by grace of December 17, 1891), and Dr. Schechter was appointed; he resigned on his departure for America in 1902, when Mr. I. Abrahams, M.A., was elected to the office. Dr. Schechter's tenure of the office was made especially memorable by the transference (in 1897) to the University Library of the Taylor-Schechter Collection of Hebrew MSS. from Cairo.

The connexion of Jews with the University since its privileges were fully opened to them is too recent to be included in this survey. Suffice it to say that there have been several Jewish Fellows, Professors, and Lecturers, and many

¹ Dr. A. Neubauer is meant.

more have won high places in Scholarship and Tripos examinations. The number of Jewish students at Cambridge in the present year (1911-12) probably exceeds seventy; there were twelve Jews in the first class and eleven in the second class of the Tripos (Honours) lists of 1909, and correspondingly high numbers in the lists for later years.

The usual formula for admission to degrees concludes with the words "in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti." By grace of the Senate, February 12, 1874, it was enacted "that the Vice-Chancellor be authorised to omit the concluding words in the usual form of admission to degrees in cases where he sees special reasons for doing so." The omission of these words is thus not a statutory right; it is entirely in the discretion of the Vice-Chancellor. But it is the invariable practice to omit these words when Jewish recipients of degrees apply to the Vice-Chancellor for the privilege. Nor does the Vice-Chancellor always wait for such application; he at times omits the clause of his own initiative when he is acquainted with the fact that the person admitted to the degree is a Jew. Similarly the Senate has never hesitated to pass graces enabling Jewish students to transfer their examinations from the Jewish Sabbath and Festivals to the following week-days.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

THE OFFICIAL APPOINTMENTS OF THE ARCH PRESBYTERS

(1.) *Confirmation of Jacob as Arch Presbyter.*¹

Rex omnibus fidelibus suis, et omnibus et Judæis et Anglis salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse, et presenti charta nostra confirmasse, Jacobo Judæo de Londoniis Presbytero Judæorum, Presbyteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ. Habendum et tenendum quamdiu vixerit, libere et quiete, honorifice, et integre; ita quod nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam, aut gravamen inferre præsumat. Quare volumus et firmiter præcipimus, quod eidem Jacobo quoad vixerit, Presbyteratum Judæorum per totam Angliam, garantetis, manuteneatis, et pacifice defendatis. Et si quis ei super ea forisfacere præsumpserit, id ei sine dilatione (salva nobis emenda nostra de forisfactura nostra) emendare faciat, tanquam Dominico Judæo nostro, quem specialiter in servitio nostro retinuimus. Prohibemus etiam ne de aliquo ad se pertinente ponatur in placitum, nisi coram nobis, aut coram Capitali Justiciario nostro, sicut Charta Regis Richardi fratris nostri testatur.

Teste S. Bathoniensi Episcopo etc. Datum per manum Huberti Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Cancellarii nostri, apud Rothomagum 31 die Julii anno Regni nostri primo.

(1a.) *Protection for Jacob Presbyter.*²

Johannes Dei gratia etc. Omnibus fidelibus suis ad quos Literæ presentes pervenerint tam ultra mare quam citra. Mandans vobis et precipiens, quatenus per quascunque Villas et loca Jacobus Presbyter Judæorum, dilectus et familiaris

¹ *Charter Rolls* (1199), i. 7; Fuller, *Church History*, I. 448; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, i. 44; ii. 3, 4; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 55.

² *Charter*, 1 John, pars 1, n. 50, rot. 28; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 4; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 61.

noster transierit, ipsum salvo, et libere, cum omnibus ad ipsum pertinentibus, transire, et conduci faciatis; nec ipsi aliquod impedimentum, molestiam, aut gravamen fieri sustineatis, plus quam nobis ipsis, et si quis ei, in aliquo, forisfacere presumpserit, id ei sine dilatione, emendari faciatis.

Teste Willelmo de Marisco etc. Datum per manum Huberti Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Cancellarii nostri apud Rothomagum 31 die Julii anno regni nostri primo.

(2.) *Appointment of Jocus as Arch Presbyter.*¹

Johannes, Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ, etc. Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti charta nostra confirmasse Josceo, judæo de London' presbitero Judæorum, presbiteratum omnium Judæorum totius Angliæ, habendum et tenendum quandiu vixerit, libere, quiete et honorifice, et integre; ita quod nemo ei super hoc molestiam aliquam aut gravamen inferre presumat.

Quare volumus et firmiter precipimus quod eidem Josceo, quoad vixerit, presbiteratum Judæorum per totam Angliam garantetis, manuteneatis, et pacifice defendatis; et si quis ei super eo forisfacere presumpserit, id ei sine dilatione, salva nobis emenda nostra de forisfactura nostra, emendari faciatis, tanquam dominico Judæo nostro quem specialiter in servicio nostro retinuimus.

Prohibemus etiam ne de aliquo ad se pertinente ponatur in placitum, nisi coram nobis, aut coram capitali justiciario nostro.

Testibus: P. Winton', J. Norwic', J. Baton' et Glaston', G. filio Petri; episcopis.

Datum per manum H. Archid' Will' apud Cantuar' quinto die Januarii, anno regni nostri octavo.

(3.) *Appointment of Aaron of York as Arch Presbyter.*²

Mandatum est Justiciariis ad custodiam Judæorum assignatis.

Quod Rex concessit Aaron Judæo Ebor. Presbyteratum omnium Judæorum Angliæ, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis

¹ Cart. Antiq. in Turr. Lond., Z, 28; Rymer, *Fœdera* (Lond., 1816), I. ii. 95.

² *Close Rolls*, 21 Hen. III., m. 18; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. p. 38; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 55-6. See also *Calendar of Charter Rolls* (two entries, 28th Dec. 1236), p. 225.

tenendum tota vita sua: Et quotiens Aaron intendere non possit ad sedend. ad Scaccarium Regis ad officium illud Joceum fil. Copin loco suo recipiant, ad ea facienda ad Scaccarium regis quæ ad officium illud pertinent Rotulos etiam qui fuerunt Joci Presbyteri prædecessoris sui eidem Aaron, vel prædicto attornato suo habere faciant. T. Rege apud Clarendon 29 die September.

(4.) *Appointment of Elias L'Eveske as Arch Presbyter.*¹

Rex Justicariis vice-comitibus ballivis et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis omnibus et Judei[s] Anglie Salutem Sciatis nos concessisse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse Elye episcopo Judeo Lond' presbiteratum omnium Judeorum totius Anglie Habendum et tenendum quamdiu vixerit libere quiete honorifice et integre Ita quod nemo super hoc ei molestiam aliquam aut gravamen inferre presumat. Quare volumus et concedimus quod idem Elyas tota vita sua habeat presbiteratum predictum per totam Angliam cum omnibus pertinenciis et libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad ipsum pertinentibus volumus eciam quod ipsum Elyam manuteneatis protegetis et defendatis ita quod siquis ei super hoc forisfacere presumerit id ei sine dilatione salva nobis emenda nostra de forisfactura nostra emendari faciatis tanquam dominico Judeo nostro quem specialiter in servicio nostro retinuimus.

Testibus W. Ebor' archiepiscopo. R. Cycestr' episcopo, cancellario nostro. W. Karl' episcopo. W. de Cantelupo. W. de Ebor', Radulfo filio Nicholai Galfridi Dispenser, Roberto Passelewe, Roberto de Mucegros, Johanne de Pless', Paulino Peyur', Ricardo de Clifford, Waltero de Luton et aliis. Datum per manum nostram apud Westmonasterium xvij die Octobris.

(5.) *Election of Hagin, son of M. Moses, as Arch Presbyter.*²

Rex Justicariis etc. Salutem Cum Elyas le Eveske Judeus Lond' per considerationem curie nostre coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Philippo Basset Philippo Luuel Henrico de Bathon' Simone Passelewe Ada de Greynuill et Thoma Sporun abjudicatus fuerit de officio presbiteratus Judeorum Anglie quod ei

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 27 Hen. III., m. 2.

² *Charter Roll*, 42 Hen. III., m. 4 [*Calendar*, p. 8].

contulimus nosque universitati predictorum Judeorum liberam et plenam concesserimus potestatem alium sibi presbiterum de cetero congruis temporibus elegendi ac eadem universitas Haginum filium magistri Mossei Judeum Linc' in presbiterum suum unanimiter electum nobis duxerint presentandum Nos electionem illam ratam habentes et gratam volumus et concedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quod predictus Haginus habeat et teneat tota vita sua presbiteratum predictum libere quiete honorifice et integre cum omnibus pertinentiis libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus ad ipsum presbiteratum pertinentibus Volumus eciam quod ipsum Haginum manuteneatis protegatis et defendatis ita quod siquis ei super hoc forisfacere presumserit id ei sine dilacione salva nobis emenda de forisfactura nostra faciatis emendari tanquam dominico Judeo nostro quem specialiter in servicio nostro retinuimus.

Hiis testibus Hugo le Bigod Johanne Mansell Thesaurio Ebor' Philippo Luuel Henrico de Bathon' Petro de Riual Willelmo de Grey et Simone Passelewe Ada de Greynuill Thoma Sporn et Radulfo de Hotot Justiciariis nostris ad custodiam Judeorum assignatis. Data apud Westmonasterium xxiiij die Februarii.

(5a.) *Permit to the Jews to elect the Arch Presbyter.*¹

Rex omnibus &c. Cum Elyas Episcopus Judæus [noster] London', pro transgressionem quam fecit, tam Nobis, quam dilecto fratri nostro Regi Almannorum[ia], a sacerdotio communitatis Judæorum Angliæ coram dilectis et fidelibus nostris Philippo Basset, Philippo Luvel, Henrico de Bathonia, Simon Passelew [Pateshul], et cæteris Justiciariis ad custodiam Judæorum assignatis, quos ad transgressionem illam convincendam Justiciarios nostros assignavimus, per Judicium eorundem ad Scaccarium nostrum fuerit abjudicatus, et de ejusdem Sacerdotii Officio, et etiam de omni modis aliis officiis et Ballivis quas a Nobis prius obtinuit, sit depositus; Nos de consilio eorundem Justiciarorum concessimus prædictæ Communitati Judæorum nostrorum Angliæ, per finem trium marcarum auri quem Cresse et Haginus fratres ejusdem Judæi, nobis pro eadem Communitate fecerunt, quod prædictus Elyas Sacerdotium illud nunquam in posterum habeat

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 41 Hen. III., m. 4, no. 6; Prynne, *Short Demurrer*, ii. 80; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, pp. 57, 58.

et recuperet: Et quod nullus de Communitate illa de cætero sit Sacerdos nisi per communem Electionem Communitatis ejusdem. Quod illa Communitas post decessum cujuslibet Sacerdotis sic electi, alium eligendi quemcunque voluerint Sacerdotum liberam habeat facultatem, ac ipsum Nobis presentandi, ut nostrum super hoc assensum optineat et favorem. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Wodestoke, 20 die Julii.

(6.) *Election of Hagin, son of Deulecres, as Arch Presbyter.*¹

Rex justiciariis, vice comitibus, ballivis, et omnibus ministris et fidelibus suis, ac Judæis suis Angliæ, salutem.

Sciatis quod, ad instantians karissimæ consortis nostræ, Alianoræ Reginæ Angliæ, et per assensum communitatis Judæorum prædictorum, volumus et concedimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, quod Haginus, filius Deulecres, Judæus London' habeat et teneat, tota vita sua, officium presbiteratus Judæorum eorumdem libere, quiete, integre, cum omnibus pertinentiis, libertatibus, et liberis consuetudinibus ad ipsum presbiteratum pertinentibus, sicut Haginus, filius magistri Mosei, quondam Judæi London' defunctus, vel alius, ante ipsum, officium illud prius tenuit.

Volumus etiam quod ipsum Haginum, filium Deulecres, manuteneatis, protegatis, et defendatis in officio predicto.

Et, si quis ei super hoc forisfacere presumpserit, id ei sine dilatione salva nobis emenda de forisfactura nostra, faciatis emendari, tanquam dominico Judæo nostro, quem specialiter retinemus in officio memorato.

In cujus, etc.

Teste Rege apud Westm' decimo quinto die Maii, anno 9 H. I.

¹ *Patent Rolls*, 9 Ed. I. [*Calendar*, p. 433]; Rymer, *Fœdera*, I. p. 591; Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, p. 59.

APPENDIX II

EXTRACTS RELATING TO CAMBRIDGE JEWS, AS TO THE GIFT OF 5000 MARKS TO RICHARD I. (1194).

[Exch. Accounts $\frac{249}{2}$.]

5 RICH. I.—RECEPTA DENARIORUM FACTA APUD WESTMONAS-
TERIUM DE PROMISSO JUDEORUM TOTIUS ANGLIE FACTA APUD
NORHAMTON POST REDITUM DOMINI REGIS AB ALEMANNIA.

Kantebls'.

- De Benjamin de Kant', *vjli.* de promissione sua de eodem,
lxs. pro eodem de eodem, xxs. pro eodem.
- De Cipora uxore Hakeloc', xxvjs. viijd. pro eodem de eadem,
lijs. iiij*d.* pro eodem de eadem, xs. pro eodem.
- De Bonevie de Kant', xxvjs. viijd. pro eodem de eodem,
xxvjs. viijd. pro eodem de eodem, xijs. pro eodem.
- De Juda de Kant', xxvjs. pro eodem de eodem, xxxs. pro
eodem.
- De David filio Ciporæ, xls. pro eodem de eodem, xxvjs. viijd.
pro eodem.
- De Jacobo filio Manasser', xxs. pro eodem.
- De Benedicto de Rumeuel, xiijs. pro eodem.
- De Isaac filio Leui, xls. pro eodem.
- De eodem xxs. pro eodem.

[Mem. 3 (No. 1).]

Cantebrug' per manus Will' de Buking'.

- De Benjamin, xxv*li.* de promisso de v. mil' marc'.
- De Cipora, *vjli.*
- De David, *xjli.* xs.
- De Judas, *ciijs.*
- De Viues de Hamton, xxviijs.

- De Benedic' fil' Isaac, *xxijs. iiij^d.*
De Josce genere Isaac, *xxxijs. viij^d.*
De Samuel fil' Jacob, *xvijs. viij^d.*
De Josce fil' Manasser, *xjs. viij^d.*
De Samuel fil' David, *xxijs. iiij^d.*
De Abraham fil' Isaac, *xvjs. iiij^d.*
De Abraham Leui, *xxvijs.*
De Jacob' Leui, *xls.*
De Boneuie, *cvjs. viij^d.*
De Isaac Senex, *iiij^{li}. vs. iiij^d.*

[Mem. 3 (No. 9).]

APPENDIX III

TALLAGE RECEIPTS IN CAMBRIDGE (1219).

[Exch. Accounts $\frac{249}{12}$.]

JURATI ET TALLIATORES SUPER TALLAGIUM JUDEORUM, HEN. 3.

Jura.

Eborac'.

<p>Kantebr' — Judei jurati de Kantebr' de tallagio faci- endo Isaac Blund' et Jacob' de Clare jurat' quod nullum concelabunt qui habeat catall' xls. et ultra.</p>	<p>Talliatores electi per Com- munam Angl'. <i>Kantebrug.</i> Isaac Bigelin.</p>
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Judei Assessores electi per communam Angl' similiter cum
vj divitibus Judeis ad tallagium assidendum, scilicet Bonamicus
de Cantuar', Leo de Lincol', Josceus de Kent, Bonenfant de
Glouc', Abraham filius Muriell[e], Bonamicus de Oxon.

Sex autem majores Aaron de Eborac', Leo de Eborac', David
de Oxonia, Aaron filius Abrah', Aaron Blundus, Benedictus
Crespin, Jacobus frater suus.

Ex quorum providentia ita provisum est quod cum aliquis
debeat talliari ille cui ille ex vj majoribus cui illo qui talliari
debet sit affinis, scilicet pater vel mater, frater vel soror, filius
vel filia, nepos vel neptis, avunculus vel avicia, socer vel gener,
vel ille qui neptim suam duxerit, et eciam servientes illius
debet amoueri et eciam tota partes, qui eidem cui aliqua fuerint
affinitate conjuncti amoueantur, et quilibet de vj majoribus
debet talliari per predictos vj minores et per Aaron de Eborac'
et ceteri vj amoueantur. Et si aliquis illorum vj majorum
aliquem vendicaverit de vj minoribus cum fuerit in tallagio
tunc amoueatur ille et nichelominus tallietur per v residuos
mediocres similiter cum Aaron, hoc est concessum et juratum
quod nullum gravabunt odio nec parcent per amorem vel affini-

tatem et idem fecerunt mediocres et si opus fuerit vacentur duo de villa propinquior ad emendacionem faciendam.

.....

.....

Kantebr'—Isaac Begelin, Jacobus filius Deulesaut, Diaye filius Magri, Aaron filius Isaac, Diaye filius Sam', Leuy filius Cok'.

.....

.....

Adam Ballivus Cantebrug manucepit producere summo mane die Dominica, Isaac Begelin ad conducendum versus Lond' ad prisonam.

David de Oxon manucepit eodem modo Jacobum de eadem villa.

Johannes de Chantu[m], Henricus de Belegraue manuceperunt Bonamy', Josc', Aaron, Cresse et I. Copin fil' [] eodem modo.

Norwich. Men' fil' Aaron et Ursell' fil' Sampsonis manuceperunt Aaron. Henna eodem modo.

Josceus gener Jacobi et Moss' similiter manuceperunt. Jacob' de Exon'—Jac' episcopus. Aaron de Eborac' et Leo manuceperunt []. Judeos Eborac'.

Diaye fil' Magri manucepit Deulesaut Cok' et [] de Stamford. Deulesaut Copin et Aaron [Copin?].

Idem Diaye manucepit eodem modo Samson de Norhampton.

Belia de Winton' manucepit. El' fil' [] eodem modo.

APPENDIX IV

DEBTS FOUND IN THE CAMBRIDGE ARCHA (8-24 HENRY III.)

[Exch. Accounts $\frac{249}{3}$.]

Fol. 1.

Debita Isaac filii Samuel et Jacobi filii Deulesaut per Cir.

- Cir. sub nomine Nigelli le Seler et Eustachii Elcorn et dictorum I. et J. de **xxs.** reddendis ad festum Sancte Eldrede anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Roberti de Bereweye et dictorum I. et J. de **xxvis.** reddendis ad Pentecosten anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cir. sub nomine Warini filii Willelmi de Barenton et dictorum I. et J. de **xxxs.** et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis inde **xs.** ad octavam post Pentecosten anno 22 et **xs.** ad festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. et **xs.** ad festum Sancti Nicolai prox. post et frumento.
- Cir. sub nomine Warini filii Willelmi de Barenton et dictorum I. et J. de **xs.** reddendis ad festum Sancti Andree Apostoli anno 22.
- Cir. sub nomine Henrici filii Hugonis mercatoris et dictorum I. et J. de v. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 22, ij. marc' et ad Pentecosten prox. iij. marc'.
- Cir. sub nomine Warini Teurchenesse de Teuersham et dictorum I. et J. de **xxs.** et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Pasca anno 22, et in tergo dimid. quart. avene ad festum Sancti Michaelis.
- Cir. sub nomine Hereberti de Haukeston et dictorum I. et J. de **lxs.** et j. quart. frumenti reddendis eis frumento ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 21 et **xxxs.** ad Purificationem Beate Marie prox. et **xxxs.** ad Hokeday prox.
- Cir. sub nomine Petri le Hunte et dictorum I. et J. de **xls.** red-

dendis ad festum Sancte Eldrede in Octobr' anno 21 Inde solvuntur xvjs. ante terminum.

Cir. sub nomine Hereberti de Harkestun et dictorum I. et J. de iiij. marcis reddendis mediam ad quindenam post Hokeday anno 21 et aliam mediam ad octavam Sancti Andree Apostoli prox.

Cir. sub nomine Walteri filii Johannis in Cestertun et dictorum I. et J. de xls. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 21.

Cir. sub nomine Johannis de Berton in Cantebrig et dictorum I. et J. de xij. marcis reddendis ad Hokeday anno 21, inde solvuntur xj. marc. ante terminum.

Cir. sub nomine Willelmi de Bray militis filii Radulfi de Bray in Offord et dictorum I. et J. de xvli. et ij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 21.

Cir. sub nomine Willelmi de Oxecroft et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. et dimidio summo frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 20.

Cir. sub nomine Johannis Huberti et dictorum I. et J. de xs. reddendis ad festum Sancte Eldrede Virginis, anno 19.

Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Roberti de Bereweys et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Johannis Bapt. anno 22.

Cir. sub nomine Rogeri filii Walteri de Parva Willburgham et dictorum I. et J. de xls. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Nicolai anno 22.

Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Willelmi de Trumpiter et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno anno regni regis H. 22, Inde solvuntur xs. ante terminum.

Cir. sub nomine Willelmi Vivien de Fulburn et dictorum I. et J. de xxs. et dimidio summo frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Eldrede anno 22.

Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Ricardi in Paupeswurthe et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 23.

Cir. sub nomine Alani Punche et dictorum I. et J. de vj. marcis reddendis ad octavam prox. in tempore Jejunii anno 21.

Cir. sub nomine Alani filii Sauari de Berton et dictorum I. et J. de viij. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Andree Apostoli anno 23, iiij. marc. et ad Hokeday prox. iiij. marc. et in tergo continetur quod debet ij. quart. frumenti ad

festum Sancti Michaelis anno 22, per plegium Radulfi filii et heredis ejus.

- Cir. sub nomine Roberti filii Hugonis de Mar' in Theueresh[am] et dictorum I. et J. de iiij^{li}. reddendis ad Assumptionem Beate Marie anno 23 et in tergo ad eundem terminum j. quart. frumenti.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Ricardi le Fraunceis de Winepol et dictorum I. et J. de xvij. marcis et iiij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis inde ad Natalem Domini anno 23, ij. quart. frumenti et ad festum Sancti Johannis Bapt. prox. post. vj. marc. et ad Natalem Domini prox. vj. marc. et ij. quart. frumenti et ad festum Sancti Johannis Bapt. prox. vj. marc. Inde solvuntur v. marc. vjs. ante terminum.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis Cogig et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. reddendis ad capud Jejunii anno 21.
- Cir. sub nomine Heruei Cogig et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. reddendis ad Incapite Jejunii anno regni regis H. 20.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti de Bresci in Mordon et dictorum I. et J. de iiij. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis de Chishill filii Thome et dictorum I. et J. de xxxiij. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Thome filii Everardi de Herdwic et Roberti filii Rogeri de eadem et dictorum I. et J. de ix. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Henrici de Fukewurth et dictorum I. et J. de cs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Ivonis Quarel in Bunetun et dictorum I. et J. de xij. marcis et ij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Rogeri filii Henrici de Mordon et dictorum I. et J. de lxxs. et j. quarterio frumenti et j. quarterio avene reddendis inde ad Pasca anno 23, xxxvs. et j. quart. frumenti et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. post. xxxvs. et j. quart. avene.
- Cir. sub nomine Henrice filii Orewell et dictorum I. et J. de xv. marc. reddendis ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Radulfi filii Goscelini de Cranden et dictorum

- I. et J. de xij. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Ivonis Quarel et dictorum I. et J. de lxs. et iiij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Nicolai filii Walteri de Chipeham clerici et dictorum I. et J. de lxs. reddendis ad Pasca anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis de Monasterio in Grantaset et dictorum I. et J. et Aaron filii Isaac de vj. marcis et vs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Edmundi anno 24. Aaron fil' Isaac partici-
pat.
- Cir. sub nomine Iovonis Quarel de Boneton et dictorum I. et J. de xvli. et vs. et iiij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Nicolai filii Walteri de Chipeham clerici et dictorum I. et J. de cs. reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberte de Manerio in Toueresham et dictorum I. et J. de xxs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti de Eldefeld in Heselingefeld et dictorum I. et J. de xliiij. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Theobaldi Alani de Berle et dictorum I. et J. de v. marcis et dimidia reddendis in iiij septimanas post Pascha anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis de Ouere et dictorum I. et J. de cs. reddendis ad iiij septimanas Pasce anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Thome de Wadune et dictorum I. et J. de x. marcis et ij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 21.
- Cir. sub nomine Rudulfi de Hauerhull in Cantebrig et dictorum I. et J. de xvijs. reddendis ad mediam quadragesime anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti de Hockl' militis et dictorum I. et J. de xvij. marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno 23 vj. marc. et in octava Epiphine prox. post. vj. marc. et in octava Pasce prox. vj. marc.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti filii Hugonis de Maneriis in Theuerc- ham et dictorum I. et J. de ls. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti de Hastings in Landwade militis dictorum I. et J. de xxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.

- Cir. sub nomine dicti Roberti de Hastings et dictorum I. et J. de liiij. marcis reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Galfridi Baignard de Wiuelingham et dictorum I. et J. de xvs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Radulfi filii Ingoldi et Gregorii filii Eustachii de Fulburn et dictorum I. et J. de xlviijs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23 et ad eundem terminum in tergo j. quart. frumenti.
- Cir. sub nomine Elene quondam uxoris Galfridi le Bere' et dictorum I. et J. de liiijs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Epiphinam Domini anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Radulfi de Berce et dictorum I. et J. de xv. marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam post festum Sancti Michaelis anno 24, x. marc. et ad j. mensem Pasce prox. v. marc.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis de Cocheham et dictorum I. et J. de xj. marcis et dimidia et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Everardi de Neuham et dictorum I. et J. de xxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Galfridi le Blund in Badburham et dictorum I. et J. de iiij. marcis reddendis ad festum Sancti Nicolai anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Petri filii Eustachii de Eyre et dictorum I. et J. de xls. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Eldrede in Octobr' anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Gilleberti filii Roberti de Stanton et dictorum I. et J. de xvj. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.

Fol. 1 dors.

Adhuc de eisdem Isaac filio Sam' et Jacobo filio Deulesaut.

- Cir. sub nomine Roberti filii Everardi militis de Brune et dictorum I. et J. de vj. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Luce de Eueresdun et dictorum I. et J. de xls. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Assumptionem Beate Marie anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Andree de Goyz in Bukeswurth et dictorum

- I. et J. de lxxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Natalem Beate Marie anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Thome filii Thome de Capell' in Wicheresfeld et dictorum I. et J. de lxxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad quindenam post festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Augeri de Wanti in Stockenepelham et dictorum I. et J. de x. marcis et j. doleo cicer' reddendis ad octavam post festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Galfridi le Blund in Badburham et dictorum I. et J. de xxxs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23, xvs. et dimid. quart. frumenti et ad Purificationem Beate Marie prox. xvs.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi de Ponte in Bukeswurth et dictorum I. et J. de iij. marcis et iijs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23, j. marc. et ad Natalem Domini prox. j. marc. et ad Pasca prox. j. marc. et iijs.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi de Ponte in Bukeswurth et dictorum I. et J. de iij. marcis vs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Walteri de Cherton et dictorum J. et J. de xxs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi de Langewic filii Hugonis et dictorum I. et J. de xij*l*. reddendis ad Pentecosten anno 22.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti Capel de Bercele et dictorum I. et J. de ij. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 22.
- Cir. sub nomine Petri de Berton et dictorum I. et J. de xij*s*. et vjd. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 23. Inde solvuntur xvij*l*. ante terminum.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti de Sancto Edmundo in Cantebrig et dictorum I. et J. et Aaron filii Isaac de ij. marcis reddendis in crastino Assencionis Domini anno 20.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Martini de Eueresdon et dictorum I. et J. de v. marcis et xjs. et ij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis inde ad Hokeday anno 24, ij. marc. et dimid. et j. quart. frumenti et ad festum Sancte Eldrede in Octobr' prox. ij. marc. et dimid. et j. quart. frumenti.
- Cir. sub nomine Ricardi Brachet Kerelinge et dictorum I. et J.

- de vj. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- In manibus Cir'. Cir. sub nomine Alani filii Savarie de Berton et dictorum I. et J. de xxijs. et vjd. reddendis ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno 24.
- Aaron fil' Isaac partici- pat. Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Widonis de Kerclinge et dictorum I. et J. et Aaron filii Isaac de vj. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Aaron fil' Isaac partici- pat. Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Widonis de Kerclinge et dictorum I. et J. et Aaron filii Isaac de viij. marcis reddendis inde ad Pentecosten anno 23, iiij. marc. et inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. iiij. marc. et ij. quart. frumenti.

Debita Aaron filii Isaac per Cir.

- Cir. sub nomine Radulfi de Matesrey in Teueresham et dicti Aaron de ij. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Ricardi Brachet de Kerclinge et dicti Aaron de ij. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Johannis Bapt. anno 23, j. marc. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. v. marc. et in tergo dimid. quart. frumenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Albrici de Knapwell et dicti Aaron de viijs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Edmundi anno 24.
- Cir. sub nomine Simonis filii Rogeri de Brun et dicti Aaron de xvs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Galfridi Shine in Hemingeford et dicti Aaron de lxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi de Robercet in Westun et dicti Aaron de ls. reddendis ad festum Beati Petri Advincula anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Ade de Berton et dicti Aaron de xs. et j. bussello frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine Walteri le Rue in Nosterfeld et dicti Aaron de xvs. reddendis ad capud Jejunii anno 23, Inde solvuntur ante terminum vs.
- Cir. sub nomine Radulfi filii Johannis de Weresle et dicti Aaron de ij. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Sancti Luce in Octobr', anno 23.

- Cir. sub nomine Ricardi filii Gregorii de Cantebrig et dicti Aaron de xxxs. reddendis inde mediam ad quindenam post festum Sancte Eldrede in Octobr', anno 21, et aliam mediam ad quindenam post Purificationem Beate Marie prox. post. Inde solvuntur ante terminum xs.
- Cir. sub nomine Everardi del Hul in Grantset et dicti Aaron de xvijs. et j. bussello frumenti reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, anno 22.
- Cir. sub nomine Everardi del Hul in Grantset et dicti Aaron de xxxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 21.
- Cir. sub nomine Walteri Morel de Staunton et dicti Aaron de vijs. reddendis ad festum Sancte Eteldrede in Octobr' anno 23.
- Cir. sub nomine David de Chilleford et dicti Aaron de xxxs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Martini anno 24. Extra archam.

Debita Communia per Cir.

- Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Willelmi de Grantess' et Hugonis le Bulur et Isaac filii Sam' et Aaron filii Isaac de xs. reddendis ad Natalem Beate Marie anno 23. It. Isaac fil' Sam' legeli'.
- Cir. sub nomine Roberti le Band de Cesterford et dictorum J. et A. de lxs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 20, xxxs. et ad festum Sancti Martini prox. xxxs.
- Cir. sub nomine Johannis filii Rogeri de Warpelton et Isaac filii Mosse et Aaron filii Isaac de xvs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno 23. Isaac fil' Mosse.
- Cir. sub nomine Simonis de Kampes in Cantebrig et Joscei filii Isaac de ij. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Sancti Andree Apostoli anno 20, Inde solvuntur xiijs. et iiijd. ante terminum. Josceus fil' Isaac.
- De Thoma de London in Asseden Elie Ep[iscop]o London lxs. reddendis inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 16, xxxs. et ad Natalem Domini prox. xxxs. Tall' Elias, London.
- De Roberto filio Radulfi de Boketon in comite Essex dicto Elie de xiijs. reddendis ad Pentecosten anno 15.
- De Herueo de Cantebrig Duce filie Jacobi j. marc. ad Pasca anno 15.

Debita Isaac filii Samuel' per Cyr'.

- Cyr' sub nomine Galfridi filii Ricardi de Heylle et dicti Isaac filii Samuel' de viij. marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 18, iiij. marc' et ad quadragesimam capientem prox. sequens iiij. marc' et in tergo continetur quod debet eidem Isaac quart. frumenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis eodem anno. Inde solvuntur v. marc' ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi Flaumbard de Bouehunte militis et dicti I. de ix. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23, j. marc' et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. sequens j. marc. et sic ad quodlibet festum Sancti Michaelis de anno in annum j. marc' quousque, etc.
- Cyr. sub nomine Seer' de Hunteringerlend et dicti Isaac de xj. marcis reddendis infra iiij. annos prox. sequentes ad hos terminos, scilicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22, xxs. et ad Pasca prox. sequens xxs. et sic anno secundo et tertio quolibet predictorum terminorum xxs. et in quarto anno prox. sequenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis j. marc' et ad Pasca prox. sequens j. marc'. Inde solvuntur xls. ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Samuel filii Hervey et dicti I. de iiij. marcis reddendis inde ij. marc' ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 22, et ad Natalem Domini prox. sequens ij. marc. Inde solvuntur ij. marc. ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Samuel de Perhowe in Waleden et dicti I. de xxxijs. reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Rogeri de Harlestun et dicti I. de xxs. reddendis ad Pasca anno regni regis H. 20.
- Cyr. sub nomine Hugonis de Craweden in Swafham et dicti I. de xx. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Johannis Bapt. anno regni regis H. 22, x. marc. et ad festum Sancti Eldrede prox. sequens x. marc' et ij. quart. frumenti.
- Cyr. sub nomine Heruei filii Eustachii de Cantebrig et dicti I. de vj. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno regni regis H. 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Ade filii Eustachii et dicti I. de ls. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis in octab' post festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 21.

- Cyr. sub nomine Luce filii Luce de Eueresdun et dicti I. de lxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Eldrede anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cyr. sub nomine Bartholomei de Litlingetun et dicti I. de xxxiij. reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Walteri Trauillr' de Parva Aburtun et dicti I. de xvij. et j. bussello frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Eadmundi anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de Sancto Eadmundo in Cantebrug et dicti I. de xij. marcis reddendis inde iij. marc' et dimid. ad Pentecosten anno regni regis H. 21, et viij. marc' et dimid. ad Natalem Domini prox. sequen'. Inde solvuntur xj. marc. ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Stephani le Chevaler de Croxtun et dicti I. de xvs. reddendis ad Pasca anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Rogeri filii Radulfi de Clere et dicti I. de vjli. et vs. reddendis ad Pentecosten anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Heruei le Messenger de Wrattung et dicti I. de xxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis infra octab' Sancti Michaelis, anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cyr. sub nomine Hugonis filii Ern' Pistor' et dicti I. de vj. marcis reddendis inde ad Natalem Domini anno regni regis H. 23, j. marc' et ad festum Sancti Johannis Bapt. prox. sequens xs. et ad Natale[m] prox. sequens xs. et in tertio anno prox. sequenti ad eosdem terminos ij. marc'. Inde solvuntur xiijs. et iiijd, ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Everardi del Hul de Grantese et dicti I. de xs. et viijd. reddendis ad festum Sancte Etheldrede in Octobr' anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cyr. sub nomine Andree filii Radulfi de Terefend et dicti I. de xxs. reddendis ad Hokeday anno regni regis H. 20.
- Cyr. sub nomine Elye de Essewell et dicti I. de xv. marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23, v. marc' ad festum Omnium Sanctorum sequens v. marc' et ad Purificationem Beate Marie prox. sequen' v. marc'.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis Gray or Badeburch et dicti I. de xxvijs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Andree Apostoli anno regni regis H. 23.

Aaron de
Ebor'
debet
honerari.

- Elias de Kent debet honerari de toto. Cyr. sub nomine Osberti Beniu de Barentun et dicti I. de lxs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23 xs. et sic de anno in annum donec, etc.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Jacobi de Belsham et dicti I. de xxs. reddendis in tres septimanas post Pasca anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Warini Torcheanesse et dicti I. de iij. marcis reddendis ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Osberti Beniu de Barentun et dicti I. de xls. reddendis ad Nativit' Beate Marie anno regni regis 20.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis le Chaun et dicti I. et Dyaye filii Magri de viij*li*. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 20.
- Jacob' Crespin participat. Cyr. sub nomine Johannis le Caun et Jacobi Crespin et dicti Isaac de xv*li*. reddendis inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 23, cs. et ad Pasca prox. sequens cs. et ad festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. sequens cs. Benedictus Crespin recognovit quod debet inde honerari de lxxvs.
- Isaac le Blund participat. Cyr. sub nomine Walteri filii Johannis filii Bernardi et dicti Isaac et Isaac le Blund de lxs. reddendis inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 22, ij. marc' et ad Pasca prox. sequens ij. marc. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. sequens dimid' marc'.
- Tall' sub nomine Philippi de Cadree et dicti Isaac filii Samuel' de xls. reddendis inde xxs. in xv dies post festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 16 et ad festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. sequens xxs.
- Tall' sub nomine Willelmi filii Willelmi Aunstrobro de Grantese et dicti I. filii Samuel' de xls. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 16.

Debita Jacobi filii Deulesaut per Cyr' et per Tallias.

- Cyr' sub nomine Roberti filii Ade de Talewinch in Wratting et dicti Jacobi filii Deulesaut de vj. marcis reddendis ad festum Sancti Hilarii anno regni regis H. 24 Et in tergo continetur quod idem Christianus debet eidem J. quart. frumenti ad eundem terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Magistri Henrici de Hintun et dicti J. de iiij. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno

regni regis H. 23, ij. marc' et ad Natalem prox. sequen' ij. marc' et j. summo frumenti. Inde solvuntur xxs. ante terminum.

Cyr. sub nomine Michaelis Malerb et dicti J. de j. marca reddenda inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 23 dimidia marca et ad Pasca prox. sequens xld. et ad Pentecosten prox. sequens xld.

Cyr. sub nomine Ricardi filii Ric' Carlol' et dicti J. de xs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Hen. 18.

Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi de Cruc' in Badburh et dicti J. de xiiij. marcis et vs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Natalem anno regni regis H. 22. Inde solvuntur xj. marc' ante terminum.

Cyr. sub nomine Roberti Seman de Cantebr' et dicti J. de xjs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 19 et in tergo j. quart' frumenti ad eundem terminum.

Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi Mattesrei in Dulesham et dicti J. de xls. reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno regni regis H. 22, et dimid' quart' frumenti.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi Hiton et dicti J. de xxs. reddendis die Conversionis Beati Pauli anno regno regis Hen. 18. Inde solvuntur viijs. ante terminum.

Cyr. sub nomine Henrici filii Galfridi de Mordun et dicti J. de xls. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Ehteldrede in Octobr' anno regni regis H. 23.

Cyr. sub nomine Roberti liberi hominis in Maddingele et dicti J. de iiij. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 27.

Adhuc de eodem Jacobo.

Fol. 2 dors.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi Barbe de Or' in Hingestun et dicti Jacobi filii Deulesaut de xij. marcis et ij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis inde iiij. marc' et ij. quart. frumenti ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 20 et ad Pentecosten prox. sequens iiij. marc. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. sequens iiij. marc.

Cyr. sub nomine Thome Plose et dicti J. de xls. reddendis ad Purificationem Sancte Marie anno regni regis H. 20.

Cyr. sub nomine Roberti Heredis de Grantese et dicti J.

de xxxs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno regni regis Hen. 24.

Cyr. sub nomine Hugonis de Grauden in Swafh[am] et dicti J. de x. marcis et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis Hen. 23, v. marc' et dimid. quart. frumenti et ad Pasca prox. sequens v. marc' et dimid' quart' frumenti.

Cyr. sub nomine Johannis Camping et Jacobi de Benuelhaug' in Eueresdon et dicti J. de ls. reddendis ad festum Sancte Ehteldrede anno regni regis H. 23.

Cyr. sub nomine Stephani le Chaun de Wytesford et dicti J. de xls. reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 21.

Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi Matesrei et dicti J. de xls. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Pasca anno regni regis H. 23.

Plures
debent
honerari.

Tall' sub nomine Mathei filii Hugonis de Berdene et Dyaye filii Magri et Jacobi Deulesaut et Aaron filii Isaac et Elye de Kent de iiij. marcis reddendis ad xv. dies post Pasca anno regni regis H. 15. Inde solvuntur ij. marc' ante terminum.

Debita Isaac le Blund per Cyr'.

Cyr. sub nomine Martini Molendinari de Selford et dicti Isaac de xls. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Ehteldrede in Octobr' anno regni regis H. 21.

Cyr. sub nomine Maurici filii Thome de Fulburn et dicti I. de ij. marcis et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis inde j. marc. ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23 et ad Hokeday prox. post. j. marc.

Cyr. sub nomine Hamonis Ricardi de Teueresham et dicti I. de xlvs. reddendis inde ad Nativit' Sancti Johannis Bapt. anno regni regis H. 22, xs. et ad festum Sancti Nicholai prox. sequens xxxvs.

Cyr. sub nomine Martini de Selford et dicti I. et Deulesaut filii Isaac et Samuel filii Mosse de iij. marcis reddendis a die Sancti Petri ad Vincula anno regni regis H. 21 in xv. dies mediam et a die Nativit' Domini prox. sequens in xv. dies aliam mediam. Inde solvuntur xxl. ante terminum.

Debita Auigay Vidue per Cyr.

- Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi filii Johannis de Burwell et dicte Auigay de xiijs. reddendis ad Nativit' Beate Marie et ij. bussellis frumenti anno regni regis H. 22.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Galfridi le Bere de Ellington et dicte Auigay de vij. marcis reddendis ad festum Sancte Ehteldrede in Octobr' anno regni regis H. 23 et j. quart. frumenti ad eundem terminum prout continetur in tergo.
- Cyr. sub nomine Walteri de Ho in Haccle et dicte A. de lxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis in capite Jejunii anno regni regis H. 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Mabillie Doy in Cantebrig et dicte A. de j. marca reddenda inde dimid. marc' ad Purificationem Beate Marie anno regni regis H. 21.

Debita Deulesaut filii Isaac sub nomine Avigaie filie sue.

- Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi de Chalueresterne in Wilburgham et dicte Augaye filie Deulesaut [de] ij. marcis et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Eadmundi anno regni regis H. 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi de Kalfeuesterne in Wylburgham et dicte Auigay de ls. et ij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Ehteldrede in Octobr' anno regni regis H. 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Raddulfi de Calisterne in Magna Wylburgham et dicte Auigay filie Deulesant de xs. et ij. bussellis pissorum reddendis anno regni regis H. 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi de Kalisterne in Wylburgham et dicte A. de xls. et j. bussello frumenti reddendis ad Assumptionem Beate Marie anno regni regis H. 20.
- Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi Mar[cet] de Herdelye et dicte Auigay de vjli. reddendis inde ad Natalem Domini anno regni regis 22 xs. et dimid' quart' frumenti et ad Nativit' Beati Johannis Bapt. prox. sequens xs. Et sic de anno in annum xxs. ad eosdem terminos donec etc.

Samuel
Mutun de
London debet
honerari quia
pater ipsius
Auegaie dicit
quod dictus
Samuel habet
inde cartam.

Debita Deulesaut filii Isaac.

- Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi le Cordewaner in Cantebrig et dicti Deulesaut de xxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula anno regni regis H. 19. Inde solvuntur ante terminum xs.

Quia non fuit
Cir.

Cyr. sub nomine Simonis Ding de Cantebrig et dicti Deulesaut de xxs. et dimidio quarterio sal' solvendis ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula vs. et ad festum Sancti Nicolai prox. post xvs.

Debita Joscei filii Manasser' per Cyr.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi filii Roberti de Bereweye et dicti Joscei filii Manasser' de xxxs. reddendis ad Hokeday anno regni regis H. 23.

Auigay vidua
participat.

Cyr. sub nomine Henrici filii Henrici de Westun et dicti Joscei et Auigaye vidue de xxxs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Laurentii filii Ade de Dunham apud Sanctum Ivonem et dicti Joscei filii Manasser' j. marc' ad Pasca anno regni regis H. 22.

Fol. 3.

Debita Manseri filii Benedicti per Cyr.

Cyr. sub nomine Laurentii filii Ade de Dunham apud Sanctum Ivonem et Manseri filii Benedicti de xls. reddendis ad Nativit' Beate Marie anno regni regis H. 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Albin le Viniter de Huntendon et dicti M. de xxxs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi filii Radulfi de Huntyndon et dicti M. de ij. marcis et dimidio reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 20.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi filii Bald[wini] de Huntyndon et dicti M. de xls. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 21.

Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi de Offord et dicti M. de iiij. marcis reddendis ad Natalem Domini anno regni regis H. 20.

Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de Herdwyc de Sancto Neot' et dicti M. de viijs. et iiijd. reddendis ad Pentecosten anno regni regis H. 19.

Josc' partici-
pat.

Cyr. sub nomine Henrici filii Aylwyni de Neuport et dicti M. et Joscei filii Abr' de xxijs. reddendis ad Pascham anno regni regis H. 11.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi de Sutton in Lecton et dicti M. de *Extra*
 xxs. et dimidia summa frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti *archam.*
 Martini anno regni regis H. 23.

Debita Jacobi Crespyn Jud' London per Cyr.

Lond'.

Cyr. sub nomine Walteri filii Roberti de Hersham et Jacobi
 Crespyn de x. marcis reddendis ad festum Sancti Edmundi
 anno regni regis H. 15.

Cyr. sub nomine Everardi filii Fulconis Crocheman et dicti J. de
 iij. marcis et dimidia et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis
 infra mensem post festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis
 H. 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Hugonis filii Werrici de Marin et dicti J. de
 xxx*li.* reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni
 regis 16. Et si praeterierit dabit quolibet anno ad festum
 Sancti Michaelis v. marc' ad mortuum vadium.

Cyr. sub nomine Odonis Burnard et dicti J. de xv*li.* reddendis
 inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22
 vii*li.* et ad Pascha prox. vii*li.* et in tergo quod debet
 ij. quarterio frumenti.

Cyr. sub nomine Baldewyni filii Baldwini Blaungernun et dicti
 J. de x. marcis reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno
 regni regis 19, xld. et ad Hokeday prox. xld. et sic de anno
 in annum donec etc. Quietus per finem xv*li.* inferius
 continetur.

Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de Sancto Edmundo et dicti J. et *Josceus par-*
 Joscey le Prestre de cs. reddendis ad festum Sancti *ticipat.*
 Michaelis anno regni regis H. 19, vs. et sic de anno in
 annum donec etc.

Cyr. sub nomine Roberti filii Ricardi de Cuniton et dicti J. et *Benedictus*
 Benedicti Crespyn de xx*li.* et j. marca reddendis inde ad *participat.*
 festum Sancti Andree Apostoli anno regni regis H. 24, xxs.
 et ad quindenam Pasche prox. xxs. et sic de anno in annum
 donec etc. et in tergo continetur quod debet Isaac fil' *Isaac parti-*
 Samuel' quolibet anno j. quart. frumenti quousque totum *cipat.*
 debitum fuerit solutum.

Cyr. sub nomine Baldwini filii Baldwini Blaungernun et dicti *Josceus par-*
 J. et Joscey le Prestre de xv*li.* reddendis inde ad Hokeday *ticipat.*
 anno regni regis H. 19, xvjs. et sic de anno in annum
 donec etc.

- Josceus participat.** Cyr. sub nomine Johannis Aunre et dictorum J. et J. de iiij*li*. et xs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 19, xxvij*l*. et ad Hokeday prox. xxvij*l*. et sic de anno in annum donec etc.
- Josceus participat.** Cyr. sub nomine Walteri filii Willelmi de Corp' in Cotes et dictorum J. et J. de xlvij*s*. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 23, xvij*l*. et ad Hokeday prox. xvij*l*. et sic de anno in annum donec etc.
- Isaac participat.** Cyr. sub nomine Augeri filii Edrici de Cantabr' et dicti Jacobi et Isaac filii Joscey le Prestre de xxij*li*. et iiij*s*. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23, xij*s*. x*l*. et ob' et ad Hokeday prox. xij*s*. x*l*. et ob' et sic de anno in annum donec etc.
- Isaac participat.** Cyr. sub nomine Petronelle de Cotes et dicti J. et Isaac filii Joscei de xvj*li*. et xs. reddendis inde ad Hokeday anno regni regis H. 23, xs. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. xs. et sic de anno in annum donec etc.
- Extra archam.** Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi Arsic' et Jacobi Crespyn de l. marcis reddendis ad quindenam Pasche anno regni regis H. 18, et si praeterierit terminum dabit quolibet anno xij*li*. ad mortuum vadium quamdiu etc. et in tergo quod pes remanet in archam pro xx*li*. Inde solvuntur xx. marc. ante terminum.
- Josceus participat.** Cyr. sub nomine Ade filii Eustachii in Cantebbrig et dicti Jacobi et Joce le Prestre de xv*li*. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 24, xs. et ad Hokeday prox. xs. et sic de anno in annum donec etc.
- Participes.** De Philippo de Stanton et dicto Jacobo et Isaac filio Samuel' et Dyaye filio Magri de xx*li*. et iij. quarteriis frumenti reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Andree anno regni regis 18, x*li*. et iij quart' frumenti et ad Hokeday prox. x*li*. Inde solvuntur x. marc' ante terminum.
- De Johanne filio Mauricii ruffr' et dicto Jacobo Crespyn de ls. reddendis ad Pascha anno regni regis H. 17.

Debita Aaron de Eborac' per Cyr.

- Cyr. sub nomine Philippi filii Johannis de Stanton et Aaron de Eboraco de x. marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 19, vj. marc. et ad quindenam Pasche prox. iiij. marc'.
- Cyr. sub nomine Philippi filii Johannis de Stanton et dicti

Aaron de *xl*li**. pro quibus dabit per annum *x*. marc' ad mortuum vadium reddendis ad quindenam post festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 20, quamdiu, etc.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi filii Eadmundi de Bray et dicti A. de *xx*li**. reddendis at Natalem Domini anno regni regis 21.

Cyr. sub nomine Albini le Vineter de Huntyndon et dicti A. de *x*. marcis reddendis inde ad Natalem anno regni regis H. 23, *v*. marc' et ad Hokeday prox. *v*. marc'.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi clerici de Offord et Radulfi filii sui et dicti A. de *xvii*li**. et *xs*. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 22, *v*li**. et *xs*. et ad Pascha prox. *lxs*. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. *lxs*. et in secundo anno prox. *v*li**. ad tales terminos. Inde solvuntur *ix*li**. *xs*. ante terminum.

Cyr. sub nomine Thome Abbatis de Waleden et conventus ejusdem loci et dicti A. de sexcentis marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Johannis anno regni regis 23, *xxv*. marc' et ad quindenam Sancti Andree prox. *xxv*. marc' et sic de anno in annum usque ad finem *v*. annorum. Et post finem *v*. annorum *l*li**. per annum usque ad finem *iiij*. annorum. Et post finem *iiij*. annorum in anno prox. sequenti *l*. marc' ad eosdem terminos.

Cyr. sub nomine Wymeri de Thornton et dicti Aaron de *x*li**. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Thome Abbatis de Waleden et ejusdem loci conventus et dicti A. de *l*li**. reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Johannis anno regni regis H. 23 mediam et ad quindenam Sancti Andree Apostoli prox. aliam mediam.

Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Johannis Byclebyr et dicti A. de ^{*xx*}
iiij. marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23, *xx*. marc' et ad quindenam Pasche prox. *xx*. marc' et ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis prox. *xx*. marc' et ad quindenam Pasche prox. *xx*. marc'.

Summa totius *Dc.v*li**. *iijs*. *iiij*d**. inde quietus ante terminum

^{*xx*}
iiij. *ij*li**. *xvjs*. *vii*d**. et restant de puro *D.xx*ij**li**. *vjs*. *vii*d**.

Debita Isaac filii Mossey per Cyr.

Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Jacobi de Belesham et Isaac filii Mossey de ij. marcis reddendis ad mediam quadragesime anno regni regis H. 23.

Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi filii Constancie de Heydon et dicti I. de iiij. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 24.

Cyr. sub nomine Ricardi de Merley et dicti I. de vj. marcis iijs. et iiijd. reddendis inde ad festum Sancte Margarete anno regni regis H. 23, iiij. marc' et xxd. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. iiij. marc. et xxd. et in tergo quod debet dimid. quart. frumenti et ij. bussellas pisarum.

Cyr. sub nomine Walteri Trauyly de Abiton et dicti I. de xxixs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula anno regni regis H. 23, xiijs. et ad festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. xvjs. et iiij. bussellos frumenti.

Cyr. sub nomine Walteri Trauely de Abiton et dicti I. de vijs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Johannis anno regni regis 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Rogeri filii Nicholai de Stykewod et dicti I. de xs. reddendis ad festum Sancte Ethelrede in Octobr' anno regni regis 20, et in tergo j. buss' frumenti.

Samuel participat.

Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi Picoch de Bouel' et dicti I. et Samuel filii Mosse de xxiijs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 22.

Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Galfridi de Saham et dicti I. de xxxs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22.

Lond'.

Debita Aaron filii Abr' Judei London per Cyr.

Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Alur' de Cantebr' et Aaron filii Abr' de xv. marcis reddendis inde ad Purificationem anno regni regis H. 23, iiij. marc' et ad festum Sancti Johannis prox. iiij. marc' et ad festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. iiij. marc' et ad Purificationem prox. iiij. marc'.

Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi Arsyce' et dicti A. de xli. reddendis ad Purificationem anno regni regis 24.

Josceus participat.

Cyr. sub nomine Nicholai le Vauasur et dicti A. et Joscey de Wylton de xxi. reddendis ad Pentecosten anno regni regis 24.

- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis Cogging de Cantebr' et dicti A. de lxs. reddendis ad Purificationem anno regni regis 24.
- Cyr. sub nomine Martini Brithnod de Cantebr' et dicti A. de x. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad Hokeday anno regni regis H. 23.

Debita Communia Judeorum per Cartas et Tallias.

Fol. 3 dors.

- Cyr. sub nomine Abr' Lenfaunt de Stowe et Samuel de Fisinges de xxxvijs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Walteri filii Petri de Cumberton et dicti S[amuel] de xxiijs. et j. quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Natalem Beate Marie anno regni regis 23.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de la Funteyne in Mordun et Samuel filii Mossey de xvs. et dimid' summa frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Etheldrede anno regni regis H. 22. Inde solvuntur xijs. ante terminum. Samuel fil' Mossey.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de London in Nortlen et dicti S. de vj. marcis reddendis in Vigilia Natalis Domini anno regni regis 18.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de London et dicti S. de vj. marcis reddendis in Vigilia Natalis Domini anno regni regis 18. Inde solvuntur v. marc' ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi de Theueresham clerici et Reginaldi filii Willelmi de Northo et dicti S. de xxxs. et dimidia summa frumenti reddendis ad octavam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 22. Extra archam.
- Cyr. sub nomine Ricardi de Merley de Hyllington et dicti S. de xxijs. et vjd. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23, et in tergo ij. bussell' frumenti.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de Fonte in Mordun et dicti S. de xijs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Eteldrede anno regni regis 21. In archam.
- Cyr. sub nomine Mauricii filii Thome de Fulburn et dicti S. et Joscey filii Mosse de xxvijs. et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancte Andree anno regni regis 24. Josceus participat.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis filii Goscelini de Wygehal et dicti S. de xxxs. reddendis ad gulam autumpni anno regni regis 23.

Debita Leonis de Ebor'.

- Leo episcopus de Ebor'. Cyr. sub nomine Reginaldi de Noreyl de Huntyndon et Leonis Episcopi de xvs. reddendis ad Pascha anno regni regis 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Thome Abbatis de Waleden et conventus ejusdem loci et dicti L. de sexcentis marcis reddendis inde ad quindenam Sancti Johannis Bapt' anno regni regis H. 23, xxv. marc' et ad quindenam Sancti Andree prox. xxv. marc'. Et sic usque ad finem v. annorum, et in quattuor annis sequentibus quolibet anno ad eosdem terminos *lvi.* et in anno sequenti *l.* marc' ad eosdem terminos.
- De Nicholao filio Hugonis Marescalli de Cruce Royel et dicti L. de xls. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Etheldrede anno regni regis H. 16, xxs. et ad Pascha prox. xxs.
- Summa totius *cecelli.* et *lvs.* Inde quietus ante terminum *lvs.* et restant de puro *cecelli.*
- Aaron Blundus, Lond'. Cyr. sub nomine Philippi filii Johannis de Stanton et Aaron Blund' de London de *ij.* marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Sancti Andree anno regni regis 20.
- Cyr. sub nomine Philippi filii Johannis de Stanton et dicti A. de duabus marcis reddendis ad festum Sancti Martini anno regni regis H. 20.
- Leuy fil' Salomonis. Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi de Abiton et Simonis filii Margeri de Cantebr' et Leuy filii Salomonis de xls. reddendis inde ad Natalem anno regni regis 21, xxs. et ad festum Sancte Trinitatis prox. xxs. Inde solvuntur xxxs. et *xd.* ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Radulfi de Catele milites et dicti S. de *vj.* marcis reddendis ad octavam Pasche anno regni regis 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Willelmi le Marche de Hylton et dicti L. de *v.* marcis et *j.* quarterio frumenti reddendis ad Pascha anno regni regis 20. Inde solvuntur *v.* marc' ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Ricardi Schytte de Fulburn et dicti L. de xxs. et *ij.* bussellis frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 19.
- De Ricardo Schytte de Fulburn et dicto L. de *ij.* marcis reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis 18.
- Extra archam. Samuel participat. Cyr. sub nomine Reginaldi filii Ade de Querendon in Waleden et dicti L. et Samuel filii Salomonis de *v.* marcis reddendis inde ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis H. 24, xvjs. et *viiij.* et ad mediam quadragesime prox. xvjs. et *viiij.*

et ad festum Sancte Marie Magdalene prox. xvjs. et viijd.
et ad festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. xvjs. et viijd., et in
tergo j. summa frumenti.

- Cyr. sub nomine Luce filii Hamonis de Herdle et Joscei filii Josce fil' Abr' de xlixs. reddendis ad Hokeday anno regni regis Abr' non comparet.
H. 10.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis Flaumbard et dicti J. de una marca London.
reddenda ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 9.
- Cyr. sub nomine Luce de Herdelee et dicti J. de xls. reddendis
ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 11.
- De Johanne Flaumbard et dicto J. de xxijs. et viijd. reddendis
inde ad quindenam Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 12,
iiijs. et ad Pascha prox. viijs. et ad festum Sancti Johannis
prox. vs. et iiijd. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis vs. et iiijd.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de Cruce Royel et dicti J. de xlijs. Extra
reddendis inde ad gulam autumpni anno regni regis H. 10, archam.
xiijs. et ad festum Sancti Michaelis prox. xiijs. et ad festum
Sancti Martini prox. xiijs.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de Cheureuil et Dyaye filii Mossey de Dyaye fil'
v. marcis reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni Mossey.
regis H. 8.
- Cyr. sub nomine Ricardi filii Stangrym de Cleng Warton et dicti
D. de ls. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti Laurencii anno
regni regis 22, xxvs. et ad festum Sancte Ethelrede prox.
xxvs.
- Cyr. sub nomine Hugonis de Myldehal parsones ecclesie de Abr' fil'
Berton et dicti A. de ix. reddendis ad festum Sancti Mosey.
Michaelis anno regni regis 8.
- Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi filii Hugonis de Lindeseye in Nortlen
et dicti A. de iiijl. reddendis inde ad festum Sancti
Michaelis anno regni regis H. 16, xxs. et ad Natalem
xxs. et ad Pascha prox. xxs. et ad festum Sancti Johannis
prox. xxs. Inde solvuntur lxs. ante terminum.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de London in Northlen et dicti A. de
v. marcis reddendis inde ad festum Sancte Margarete anno
regni regis 18, ij. marc' et dimid' et ad festum Sancti
Michaelis prox. ij. marc' et dimid'. Inde solvuntur ij. marc'
et dimid' ante terminum.
- Cir. sub nomine Willelmi filii Henrici de Belesham et Dyaye Dyaye fil'
filii Magri de vijs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis Magri.
anno regni regis 23.

- De Thoma le Teyncurer de Ely et dicti D. de xs. reddendis ad Natalem anno regni regis 16.
- Extra archam. Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi Arsyce' et dicti D. de iiij. marcis reddendis ad Purificationem anno regni regis H. 24.
- Cyr. sub nomine Johannis Gray de Badburgham et dicti D. de xs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis 23.
- Manser fil' Urselli. Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi Auenaut de Fulburn et Manseri filii Ursell' de Wynton de xviijs. reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis 21.
- De Willelmo de Stradeset Orfeure et dicto M. de xxs. reddendis ad festum Sancte Etheldrede anno regni regis 16.
- De Willelmo de Grantese et dicto M. de ij. marcis reddendis ad Pascha anno regni regis H. 16.
- Manasser fil' Benjamin de Linc'. Cyr. sub nomine Albr' filii Walteri de Fulburn et Manseri filii Benjamin de xxs. et dimidia summa frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 23.
- Samuel. Cyr. sub nomine Nicholai de Cornes in Themese ford et Samuel filii Salomonis de lijs. reddendis ad Purificationem anno regni regis 21.
- Cyr. sub nomine Roberti Peche de Awefredefeld et Benjamin filii Jacobi et Aaron de Colecestr' de v. marcis et dimidio quarterio frumenti et dimidia quarterio avene reddendis ad Purificationem anno regni regis H. 23.
- Samuel apud Lond'. Cyr. sub nomine Walteri Parmuntarii de Baudat et Samuel de Hertford de ij. marcis reddendis ad quindenam Sancti Johannis anno regni regis 17. Et in tergo j. quart' frumenti.
- Chere. Cyr. sub nomine Roberti de London in Nordlen et Chere filie Abr' de ij. marcis et dimidia reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno 18.
- Deulecres Norwyc'. Cyr. sub nomine Petri filii Ricardi de Bernewell et Deulecres filii Dyaye de xxs. reddendis inde ad festum Sancte Etheldrede anno regni regis 17, xs. et ad Natalem prox. xs.
- Naykyn. Cyr. sub nomine Ricardi filii Osberti de Neunham et Naykyn filii Samuel de xxs. reddendis ad Purificationem anno regni regis 12.
- Joce Lond'. Cyr. sub nomine Thome filii Johannis de Berle et Joce le Prestre de xxs. reddendis ad festum Sancte Etheldrede anno regni regis 18, et in tergo dimid' quart' frumenti.
- Cyr. sub nomine Alani filii Rogeri de Swaui' et Mosse filii Isaac

de Hunteton de xxxiijs. reddendis ad Pascha anno regni regis 10.

Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi filii Rogeri in Bugegat de Leuū et Dyaye filii Mosse de Lyncoln de x. marcis reddendis inde ad Natalem Domini anno regni regis 17, v. marc' et ad Pascha prox. v. marc'. Totum solutum ante terminum praeterea tres summas frumenti. It. Diaie fil' Mosse.

Cyr. sub nomine Galfridi Arsick de Siluerlee et Joscei filii Salomonis de ix $\frac{1}{2}$. reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis 24. Josce.

Cyr. sub nomine Simonis Anglici de Caupol et Benedicti filii Samuel de xls. reddendis ad festum Sancti Michaelis anno regni regis H. 22. Inde solvuntur xxs. ante terminum. Benedictus.

De Radulfo filio Gileberti de Maddingl' et Florie fil' Samuel de xs. reddendis ad festum Sancti Edmundi anno regni regis 18.

De Willelmo filio Roberti de Red' et Josce de Neuport de vs. reddendis ad festum Omnium Sanctorum anno regni regis 16. Josce.

De Radulfo filio Gileberti de Maddingle et Josceo de Kent de viij. marcis et dimidio quarterio frumenti reddendis ad festum Sancti Edmundi anno regni regis H. 18. Josceus.

Rotulus de Debitis inventis in archam cir. apud Cantebrug'.

APPENDIX V

DEBTS IN THE CAMBRIDGE ARCHA (1272)

[Exch. Accounts $\frac{249}{16}$.]

Debita de Judaismo Angl' que Judei dederunt Regi in puramento facto de catallis eorum, anno 46, eo quod dicti Judei noluerunt talliari secundum ea debita.

Debita de Archa Cantebrug.

	Willelmus filius Roberti de Red' de debito Jose' de Neuport Jud' vs. per talliam.
Cant'.	Radulfus filius Gilberti de Maddigl' de debito Jose' de Kant' viij. marc. per talliam.
Cantebr'.	Walterus filius Johannis de Cesterton de debito Isaac filii Samuel et Jacobi filii Deulesaut xls. per cartam.
Cantebr'.	Albr' filius Walteri de Fulburne de debito Manseri filii Bonami xxs. per cartam.
Hunt' in rotulo.	Willelmus de Sutton in Lettone de debito Manseri filii Benedicti xxs. et dimid' quart' frumenti per cartam.
Cant'.	Petrus filius Ricardi de Bertiewelle de debito Deulecres filii Dyaye xxs. per cartam.
Cant'.	Henricus filius Henrici de Weston de debito Jos' filii Manseri et Auegeye vidue xxxs. et dimid' quart' frumenti.
Cant'.	Robertus de Lond' in Northlen de debito Chere filie Abr' ij. marc' et dimid' per cartam.
Cant' in rotulo.	Philippus filius Johannis de Stanton de debito Aron le Blund de Lond' iij. marc' et dimid' per cartam. Per plegium Johannis filii' Simonis de Staunton Willelmi Pigat de eadem et Willelmi Bernard de eadem . . . per cartam.
Hert' in rotulo.	Johannes filius Thome de Berle de debito Jose' le Prestre xxs. per cartam.
Hert' in rotulo.	Robertus de Cruceres de debito Jose' fil' Abr' xvijs. per cartam.
Cant'.	Johannes Flambard de debito ejusdem j. marc' per cartam.

- Eadmundus de Catebe de debito Leuy filii Salomonis vj. marc' Nor' in rotulo.
per cartam.
- Lucas de Herddale de debito Jose' filii Abr' xls. per Hert' in
cartam. rotulo.
- Idem de debito Manseri filii Benedicti dimid' quart' frumenti Hert' in
per eandem. rotulo.
- Alan filius Rogeri de Wawilt de debito Mosse filii Isaac de Hunt'.
Huntendon xxxiij. viijd. per cartam et ij. bussellos frumenti
per eandem cartam.
- Johannes filius Martini de Selford de debito Sam' de Rising Cant'.
j. marc' et ij. bussellos frumenti.
- Reginaldus Arsyk filius Galfridi Arsik de Siluerle de debito Cant' in
Auncer' filii Jose' xls. rotulo.
- Lucas filius Hamonis de Herdele de debito Jose' fil' Abr' xlixs. Hertford.
per cartam.
- Johannes filius Martini de Schelford de debito Jose' fil' Cant'.
Salomonis de Wilton ix.
- Rudulfus filius Johannis de Quoye de debito Milonis filii Magri Cant'.
ij. marc' et dimid' quart' frumenti.
- Willelmus de Burgo in Sausiton de debito Jacobi filii Isaac Cant'.
iiij. marc' et dimid' per cartam.
- Henricus filius Godefridi de Lyston de debito Sampsonis filii Sal' Nor' in rotulo.
xli. per cartam.
- Philippus filius Johannis de Staunton de debito Aron le Blund Cant'.
xxx. marc. per cartam.
- Adam Duuel de Hiche de debito Abr' filii Benedicti vj. marc' Hertford.
per cartam.
- Reginaldus Arsik de Siluerle de debito Joc' filii Sal' ij. marc' et Cant' in
dimid' per cartam. rotulo.
- Robertus filius Thome de Teya ad Hulmos de debito Benedicti Essex.
filii Abr' xx. marc'.
- Robertus Thortheues de Swawesheye de debito Aron filii Isaac Cant'.
xls. per cartam.
- Johannes filius Walteri Richer de Wylburham de debito Aron Cant' in
filii Isaac xls. per cartam. rotulo.
- Idem de debito Besse uxoris ejusdem Aron dimid' quart' frumenti Cant'.
per eandem.
- Jacobus filius Johannis de Saunton de debito Jose' filii Aron Cant'.
v. marc' et dimid' quart' frumenti.
- Willelmus Castell' de Cauntebr' de debito Abr' filii Mil' xxs. per Cant'.
cartam.

Cant'.	Walterus Hubert de Haslingfend de debito Abr' filii Benedicti ls. per cartam.
Cant'.	Maur' Ruffus de Huningesheye de debito Sal' filii Jose' de Cantuar' xls.
Essex.	Robertus filius Thome de Teya de debito Benedicti filii Aaron xli. per cartam.
Nor'.	Reginaldus de Northo de debito Sam' de Rising j. marc' per cartam.
Hunt' in rotulo.	Hom' filius Willelmi de Payston de debito Dyeye filii Salam' xvjs. per cartam. Galfridus Caperun filii Ricardi Caperun de Huntedon de debito Abr' filii Isaac x. marc. per cartam.
Cant' in rotulo.	Robertus Thortheueis de Swaueseye de debito Deudon de Caleis xxxxs. et ij. bussellos frumenti per cartam. Petronilla de Crewell' de debito ejusdem ij marc' per cartam.
Linc'.	Henricus filius Henrici de Cybencote de debito David filii Dyeye xxxvijs. per cartam.
Cant'.	Henricus Everard de Cnapewell de debito Dyaye filii Magri xxs. per cartam.
Cant'.	Hugo filius Pagani de Mildeburn de debito Dayaye filii Magri de Clou'u' v. marc' per cartam.
Northt.	Ricardus filius Willelmi Muschet de debito Isaac filii Sam' x. marc' per cartam.
Cant' in rotulo.	Hom' de Waddon de debito Isaac filii Sam' et Jacobi Deulesaut viij. marc' et ij. quart' frumenti per cartam.
Cant' in rotulo.	Reginaldus de Horsheye in Watherbecch de debito Leonis filii Isaac ij. marc' et dimid' quart' frumenti per cartam.
Cant' in rotulo.	Willelmus Raven de Bullingham de debito Maunselli filii Abr' xls. per cartam.
Cant in rotulo.	Robertus de Lond' in Norclen de debito Sam' filii Mosse de Linc' vj. marc' per cartam.
Nor' in rotulo.	Saerus de Huntingfend miles de debito Dyaye filii Sam' vj. marc' per cartam. Idem de debito ejusdem Judei unam robam per eandem cartam.
Cant' in rotulo.	Willelmus filius Ran' de Siluerle de debito Jose' filii Sal' lxs. per cartam.
Hertford.	Ricardus filius Ricardi Euerard in Bercweye de debito Leonis de Neuport xxs. per cartam.
Essex.	Philippus de Finstede de debito Leonis de Neuport j. marc' per cartam.

Edmundus filius Stephani de Wycclesford de debito Isaac filii Cant'.

Sam' xls. per cartam et plegiagium Henrici de Sepereyee
qui se inde constituit principalem debitorem.

Idem debet eidem ij. quart' frumenti per eandem cartam.

Walterus filius Petri in Cumberton de debito Sam' de Rising
xxiijs. et j. quart' frumenti.

Nicholaus filius Hugonis le Marescall' de Cruce Roes' de debito Hertford.

Leonis episcopi de Ebor. xls. per talliam.

APPENDIX VI

THE ARCHA AT THE EXPULSION (1290)

[Exch. Accounts $\frac{250}{3}$.]

Obligationes et carte de Novis Cistis Judeorum Anglie que ad manus Regis deveuerunt post abjuracionem eorundem a regno.—20 *Edw. I.*

1. To Jocus fil' Saulot Jud Lond', 1 sack of wool at 10 marks =	£6 13 4
To Jocus fil' Saulot Jud' Lond', 30 qrs. of corn at $\frac{1}{2}$ mark per qr. =	10 0 0
2. To Manser le Chapeleyn Jud' of Hunt., 6 sacks of wool at 12 marks per sack =	48 0 0
To Manser le Chapeleyn Jud' of Hunt., 4 sacks of wool at 12 marks per sack =	32 0 0
3. To Aaron fil' Vives, £10; Do., 15 marks; Do., 40/	22 0 0
4. To Moses fil' Deulecres, 5 marks; Do., 7 marks; Do., 40/; Do., 6 marks; Do., £10; Do., 40/, et dimid' quart' frumenti; Do., 20/; Do., 10 marks; Do., 20/; Do., £4; Do., 6 marks; Do., 12 marks; Do., 10 marks; Do., 100/; Do., 4 marks; Do., 10 marks; Do., £8; Do., 20/; Do., 40/; Do., 40/.—Total	84 13 4
5. Seleme fil' Bonefant, 40/ =	2 0 0
6. Sampson fil' Isaac = £10 0 0	
7. Jocus fil' Deulesaut = 100/; Do., £30; Do., £10; Do., $12\frac{1}{2}$ marks; Do., 40/; Do., £4; Do., £10.—Total	69 6 8

In dors "Rotulus de Comitatus Huntynon et Cant" de Judaismo.

APPENDIX VII

THE OFFICIAL ARMS OF THE PROFESSOR OF HEBREW

A note may be added on the interesting coat-of-arms granted to the holder of the office of the Regius Professor of Hebrew (or "Reader," as the old designation has it) in the University of Cambridge. The following is the technical description¹ thereof:—

ARMS: *Argent; the Hebrew letter ך sable, on a chief gules, a lion passant gardant or, charged on the side with the letter H of the second.*

CREST: *On a wreath argent and sable a turtle dove azure.*

Mr. Lucien Wolf, in his interesting paper² on "Anglo-Jewish Coats-of-Arms," remarks:—

"The Anglo-Israelites have expended much ingenuity in attempting to prove that the lions in the Royal Arms were borrowed from the banner of the tribe of Judah. It is at any rate certain that they were introduced into the arms by Richard I., to commemorate his exploits in the Holy Land, but their significance was doubtless held to refer more to the exploits than to the land. The lion which appears in the shield of the Cambridge Hebrew School has a more valid claim to Judaic extraction, seeing that it is marked with the Hebrew letter ך and is associated with the study of the language of Judah."

Without in this place commenting on the reference to Richard I., it may be pointed out that Mr. Wolf, in his remarks upon the Cambridge shield, was apparently not aware that

¹ See Dr. Woodham's essay: "An Application of Heraldry to the illustration of various University and Collegiate Antiquities" (*Camb. Antiq. Soc. Proc.*, 4to series, vol. i.), and Mr. St. John Hope's paper "On the Armorial Ensigns of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, and of the Five Regius Professors" (*C. A. S. Proceedings and Communications*, vol. xxxv. p. 131).

² *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. ii. p. 158.

the lion also appears in the case of three of the other Regius Professors. In the arms of the "Readers" of Medicine, of Law, and of Greek, as well as of Hebrew, we find "*a lion passant gardant gold, charged on the side with respectively the letter M., L., G., or H., sable.*" So that the reference is, of course, to the Royal appointment of these Professors, and not to any connexion with the tribe or the language of Judah.

It may be added that Dr. Thomas Lorkin, Regius Professor of Physic, obtained from Robert Cooke, Clarencieux King-at-Arms, the grant of these armorial bearings in the year 1590.

GENERAL INDEX

- Abbreviatio Rotulorum Originalium*, 63, 191, 192, 195
 Abendana, Isaac, 220, 221, 222
 Abrahams, Mr. B. L., 7, 22, 32, 169, 192, 193, 195
 Abrahams, Mr. Israel, 18, 55, 82, 222, 236-240
 Adler, Dr. H., 23, 25, 27, 40, 42, 61
 Adler, Mr. Michael, 207, 210, 213
 Alan, son of Warin, 147
 Alexander, Mr. D. L., 237
 André, Geoffry, 115, 198
Anglia Judaica. See Tovey
 Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, *Papers*, 23, 24, 40, 61
Annales Waverlienses, 161
 Anstey, Richard of, 97, 127, 128
 Appleford, William de, 181
 Appleton, Mr. C., 238
Archæological Journal, 60, 69
 Arch-Presbyters—
 Aaron of York, 24, 29, 30
 Elias Le Evesque, 24, 30-33
 Hagin, son of Deulecresse, 24, 35-37
 Hagin, son of Master Moses, 24, 33-36
 Jacobus Judæus Londoniæ, 24, 25
 Joscens Judæus Londoniis, 24, 25-8
 Ascellis, Simon de, 160
 Atkinson, Mr. T. D., *Cambridge Described, &c.*, 107, 113
 Aubemarle, 174
 Augustinian Friars, 193
 BABINGTON, Hugh de, Sheriff, 197, 198
 Badges, 100, 101
 Baker, Thomas, 108, 118, 121, 161, 162, 175, 183, 200, 219, 223, 225, 233
 Balliol, Adam de, 157
 Banks, Sir Joseph, 226
 Barnwell, 108, 118, 119, 158, 184, 195, 200
 Barnwell, Priors of, 140, 141, 148, 154, 160, 186, 197, 202
 Barons' War, 101, 112, 161, 191, 204
 Barton, 146, 147, 165, 166, 172
 Barton, Henry le, 202
 Basevi, George, 236
 Bath, 87
 Bayle, *Dictionnaire*, 207
 Beatson, Dr. R., 76
 Bede's House, 117, 118, 120
 Bedford, 86, 151, 155, 171, 193
 Benedict the Abbot, *Chronicle*, 129
 Berkhamsted, 63
 Berkshire, 106
 Bernal, Mr. Ralph [Osborne], 236
 Bernard, Mr. Hermann, 236
 Bernard, Nicholas, 194, 197
 Beth-Din, 50, 51
 Birch, Dr. W. de Gray, 123
 Blois, Peter de, 123
 Blomfield, *History of Norfolk*, 20, 70
 Board of Works, 80
 Bottisham, 179, 180
 Boughey, Rev. A. H. F., 220
 Bourn, 140
Bowtell MSS., 224, 225
 Boxhore, William, 76
 Bradshaw, Mr. H., 214, 215
 Bray, Henry de, 193
 Bray, Ralph de, 174
 Bray, Thomas de, 194
 Bristol, 49, 58, 60, 87, 100, 188
 Brokeland, Joc. of, 96
 Brussels, 62
 Bucer, Martin, 207
 Bungay, 86
 Burgh, H. de, 147
 Burgh, William de, 167, 170
 Bury St. Edmunds, 130, 156
 But, John, 197
 Byron, Lord, 230
 CAIRO, 239
 Caius' *History*, 117
 Caldicote, 173
Calendar of State Papers, 212, 213
Cambridge, passim

Cambridge—

Bede's House, 233
Borough Charters (Maitland and Bateson), 111
 Churches, 107, 108, 114, 115, 120, 122, 130, 143, 145, 162, 166, 183, 186, 194, 226, 233
 Colleges, 115, 119, 120, 141, 143, 159, 183, 199, 201, 209, 211, 225, 229, 238
 Debtors, list of, 146
 Gaol, 113, 144
 Guildhall, 114
 Holy Sepulchre, 122
 Jewish Cemetery, 114, 120
 Jewish Synagogues, 114, 120, 144, 233-235
 Jewry, 106, 113, 115, 116
 Monasteries, 108, 109
 St. John's Hospital, 121, 130, 143, 144, 183, 200, 202
 St. Radegund, Nunnery of, 166
 Stone Houses, 117, 118, 119, 166, 201
 Streets, 115, 157, 188, 191, 197, 200, 224, 230, 234, 235
 Tolbooth, 113
 Cambridge, Alberic de Vere, Earl of, 106
Cambridge Antiquarian Society Proceedings, &c., 281
Cambridge Chronicle, 229
Cambridge Independent Press, 231
 Camden, 66
 Canterbury, 51, 61, 64, 70, 86, 133, 156, 164, 165, 172, 230
 Canterbury, Hubert, Archbishop of, 25
 Cantor, 22, 62
 Caperun, William, 191
 Carlisle, 208
Carta, Magna, 100, 135
 Cartulary, St. John's, 116, 143, 144, 175
 Casaubon, Isaac, 210
 Causini, the, 148
 Caxton, 83, 88, 90
 Caxton, Bartholomew de, 173
 Caxton, Galfred de, 133
 Caxton, Jeremiah of, 83, 88, 90
 Chapel of the Pyx, 18, 78, 80
 Chaplain, 21, 22, 62
 Charlett, Dr. Arthur, 221
Charter Rolls, 6, 24-26, 29, 32, 33
 Charters, Jewish, 162
 Chazan, 22, 62
 Chesterton, 109, 190, 192

Chests, Jewish, 46, 47, 49, 145, 151, 158, 161-163, 171, 177, 185, 187, 189, 190, 192, 193, 197
 Chirographers, 31, 46
 Clare, 64, 163, 173, 175, 176, 180
 Clarendon, 189
 Clark, Mr. J. W., *Barnwell Liber Memorandum*, 107, 119, 154, 157, 160, 161, 166, 175
 Clarke, *Lives of Modern Divines*, 209
Close Rolls, *passim*
 Cobbett, William, 79
 Cohen, Mr. Arthur, 237
 Cohen, Mr. Henry, 229
 Cohen, Mr. Lazarus, 234
 Coke, Sir Edward, *Reports*, 211
 Coke, Sir Edward, *Institutes*, 23, 38, 39
 Colchester, 13, 15, 22, 62, 65, 86, 87, 181
 Cole, H., *Documents*, 21, 140
Cole MSS., 113, 135, 224, 226, 227
 Cologne, 20
 Colville, Henry de, 154, 155
 Conway, Secretary, 212
 Cook, Robert, 282
 Cooper, *Annals*, 110, 111, 113, 148, 161, 226, 227, 229
 Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, 207, 209
 Cooper, *Memorials*, 114, 211
 Cornwall, 64, 101
 Cornwall, Richard of, 101
Cotton MSS., 18
 Covell, Dr., 221, 223
 Coventry, 84
 Cromwell, 38
 Cromwell, Oliver, 207, 219, 220
 Crool, Rabbi Joseph, 231, 236
 Croyland, Goffred, Abbot of, 123
 Crusades, 98, 101
 Cudworth, Dr., 219, 221
 Cumberland, Bishop Richard, 228
 Cumberland, Richard (Dramatist), 228
 Cumberton, 135
 Cutts's *Colchester*, 22, 62

 DAVIS, Mr. Israel, 237
 Davis, Mr. M. D., *passim*
 De Gray, Sir Henry, 26
 Devizes, 188
 Deyville, Sir John, 161
Dialogus de Scaccario, 77
 Disinherited, the, 161, 162
 Disraeli Family, 236
Domesday Book, 106, 107
 Dominicans, 188, 201

Domus Conversorum, 101, 148, 204,
207, 210, 213
Donum, Northampton, 131, 132, 133
Dorset, 87, 106
Double Names, 68
Douce MSS., 211
Dyer, G., 207, 227, 233

EDGAR, King, 124, 125
Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, 179,
180, 184
Edward I., *passim*
Edward II., 84, 198
Edward III., 46-101, 127
Edward VI., 208
Eleanor, Queen, wife of Henry III.,
7, 101, 112, 116, 117, 131, 148, 149,
188, 189, 190, 192, 194, 197, 200
Eleanor, Queen, wife of Edward I.,
10, 36, 37, 184, 193
Ely, Bishops of, 96, 124, 183, 208
Ely, Isle of, 105, 161, 162, 193
Ely, Prior of, 125
Emmanuel, Mr. Abraham, 234
Episcopus. *See* Part I., Chapter IV.,
&c.
Ereaud, Peter, 35
Essex, 135, 145, 180
Essex MSS., 197
Everard, Fitz Milo, 140, 141
Evesham, 87
Ewin, Dr., 227
Exchequer Rolls of the Jews, *passim*
Exeter, 49, 87
Expulsion of the Jews, 32
Eye, Stephen de, 172, 174, 201
Eynsham, 191
Eyre, William, 209

FAGIUS, Paul, 208
Feet of Fines, Calendar of, 155, 171
Ferdinand, Philip, 207, 209, 210
Ferrars, Earl of, 26
Fine Rolls, 96, 97, 113, 148, 156,
170
Fitz-John, Robert, 176
Fitz-Warin, Fulk, 97
Flanders, 52, 168
Fleay, F. G., 211
Foster, Mr. J. E., 107
Franciscans, 114, 120, 188, 200,
233
Frankfort, 57
Fulburn, Robert de, 119, 166, 201
Fulham, Sir Robert de, 162, 166,
169
Fuller, *Church History*, 24, 38, 51,
52, 113, 117, 120, 208, 211

GALE, *Scriptores*, 123
Gallia Judaica, 9
Gamlingay, 155, 156
Gaveston, Piers, 198, 201
Gentleman's Magazine, 226
Geoffrey, Brother, 83
Geoffrey, [Rural] Dean of Cam-
bridge, 182, 183, 184
Germany, 19, 64, 71, 131, 132, 179,
180
Gernon, Robert, 134
Gibson, *Camden*, 213
Giffard, Roger, &c., 154, 175
Gilbert de Fuielpstede, 173
Giraldus Cambrensis, 96
Gloucester, 87, 96, 188
Gloucester, Earls of, 165, 180
Gouge, Dr. William, 209
Granchester, 181
Gray, Mr. A., *Priory of St. Rade-
gund*, 114-116, 141, 161, 166, 197
Grimbaud, Petrus, 88
Grose, Sir Nash, 229
Gross, Dr. C., *passim*
Gross, H., 9
Guildford, 100, 134, 137
Gunning, H., *Reminiscences*, 229
Gynges, Bartholomew de, 172

HACKETT, John, 212
Hardel, William, 83, 88, 90
Hardy, T. D., 136, 138
Hare MSS., 83, 110, 194
Harleian Charters (B.M.), 18, 60, 70
Hart, Mr. Benjamin, 234
Hart, Mr. E. A., 237
Hartman, Mr. Jacob, 234
Hartog, Mr. Numa, 237, 238
Haslingfield, 158
Haverhull, W. de, 88, 90, 91
Hebrew books at Cambridge, 211
Heidelberg, 208
Henriques, Mr. H. S. Q., 237, 238
Henry I., 26, 98, 100, 111
Henry II., 20, 48, 98, 99, 100, 129
Henry III., *passim*
Hereford, 22, 87, 88, 89, 153, 188
Hereford, Earl of, 96
Hertford, 135, 145, 164, 180
Histon, 155, 191
Historia Eliensis, 96, 124, 125
Historical MSS. Com. Report, 183
Ho, Thomas, 159, 160
Hoeniger, 19, 21
Holm, 157, 179
Honiton, 64
Hope, Mr. St. John, 231
Hoppegrave, Elias, 174

- Horningsea, 158
 Hovedene, Roger de, 114, 129
 Howlett, Edward, 29
 Hubard, Sabina, 197
 Hubbard, *Journal*, 229
 Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, 25
 Hugh of Lincoln, 11
Hundred Rolls, 106, 111, 116, 117, 162, 163, 190, 194, 195, 197, 198
 Huntingdon, 92, 131, 145, 151, 153, 169, 179, 185, 189, 190, 191, 195, 196, 197, 220, 230

 INGULPHUS, *History*, 123
 Innocent III., 100
Inquisitio Eliensis, 105
Inquisitions Post Mortem, 27
 Ipswich, 105
 Irby, Sir Anthony, 214
 Ireland, 65
 Ivelcester, 86, 87

 JACOB, Ben Azahel, 219
 Jacob, Rabbi Paul, 212, 213
 Jacobs, Mr. J., *passim*
 James I., 213
 James, Dr. M. R., 125
 Jarum [Yarm], 64, 81
 Jeremiah of Caxton, 83, 88, 90
 Jessop, Dr., 125
Jew, The, 228
Jewish Chronicle, 18, 231, 234
 Jewish Court of Exchequer, 44
Jewish Encyclopedia, 189, 221, 222, 230, 231, 236, 237, 238
Jewish Historical Society, Transactions, passim
 Jewish Parliament, 5, 83, 101
Jewish Quarterly Review, 57, 125
 Jewish surnames, 63
 Jewry, Cambridge, 106, 114–116
 Jewry, London, 25, 27
 John, King, 25, 38, 96, 98, 99, 100, 111, 112, 134, 137, 143, 151, 201
 Joigny, 64
Journals, House of Commons, 213, 214
 Justices of the Jews, 162

 KAUFMANN, Dr., 57
 Kew Gardens Museum, 78
 Kilmer's *Pythagoras School*, 119
 Köln, 20

 LAMBURNE, Sir William de, 172
Lansdowne MSS., 195, 197
 Le Chapelein, 21, 22

 L'Eveske. See Part I. Chapter iii.
 Le Moyne, John, 152, 174, 202
 Le Prestre, 21, 22
 Leicester, Earl of, 96
 Leicester, William de, 155, 156
 Levy, Rev. S., 88
 Ley, Lord Treasurer, 213
 Leyden, 210
Liber Eliensis, 105
Liberate Rolls, 136
 Lightfoot, Dr., 214, 221
 Lincoln, 11, 15, 33–35, 46, 49, 53, 56, 60, 63, 69, 70, 71, 81, 86, 87, 90, 128, 129, 135, 163, 178, 180
 Lincolnshire, 127
 Lipkind, G., 230
 Litlington, Richard de, 164
 London, *passim*
 London Jewry, 25, 27, 64, 100, 185
 Londonderry, Bishop of, 213
 Lorkin, Dr. Thomas, 282
 Louis, Dauphin of France, 112
 Loun, 53
 Lovel, John, Sheriff, 171
 Lovetot, J. de, 193
Luard MSS., 227
 Ludham, Robert de, 185
 Lyne's *Map of Cambridge*, 118
 Lynn, 130
 Lyon, Rev. Solomon, 230
 Lyons, Israel, 224–227
 Lyons, Israel, jun., 226–227
 Lysons, *Cambridgeshire*, 111

 MACRAY, *Annals*, 221
 Madingley, 141, 142, 146, 158
 Madox, *History of the Exchequer, passim*
 Maitland, Prof., 143, 162, 186
 Manchester, 231
 March, Edward, Earl of, 84
 Marlborough, 84, 87, 188
 Marlowe, Christopher, 211
 Marsh, Prof. Herbert, 230
 Martin, Mr. C. T., 33, 52, 148, 210
 Martin, John, 186
 Martyr, Peter, 208
 Masters of the Law, 48, &c., 136, 137, 164
 Matilda de Walda, 143
 Maud, Empress, 106
 Mayor, Prof. J. E. B., 219 (and see Thos. Baker), 223, 224
 Maza, Jacob, 213
 Merton, 156
 Merton College, Oxford, 56, 59
 Merton, Walter de, 181, 202
 Michael ben Alexander, 222, 223

- Middleton, William de, 176
 Migrations, 134
 "Molley," a Jew ! 175
 Monmouth, Thomas of, 126
 Montague, Bishop Richard, 55, 210
Monumenta Francicana, 114
 Mortimer, Roger, 26
 Mulgrave, Lord, 226
 Mullinger, Dr. J. B., 207
 Munfichet, Richard de, 134, 201

 NATHAN, Isaac, 230
 Neubauer, Dr., 59, 62, 64, 221, 239
 Neville, Gilbert de, 178, 179
 Newbury, 180
 Newbury, William of, 29, 98
 Newmarket, 173, 182
 Newnham, 109
 Newport, 170, 174, 182
 Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes*, 226
 Nicknames, 65
 Nigellus, Bishop of Ely, 124
 Norfolk, 25, 70
 Norrisian Prize, 228
 Norwich, 20, 21, 53, 60, 62, 63, 69,
 70, 71, 87, 105, 122, 126, 127, 152,
 153, 188
Norwich Day Book, 88
 Norwich, William of, 100, 125
 Northampton, 31, 32, 46, 53, 59, 60,
 84, 86, 100, 122, 131, 136, 171
Notes and Queries, 64, 66, 76, 78
 Nottingham, 60, 71, 87, 231
 Nuneham, Prior of, 192, 193, 194

Oblate Rolls, 136
 Officials, Jewish, 44, &c.
Onyx Book, the, 129, 133
 Oxford, 8, 15, 53, 54, 56, 59, 63, 64,
 76, 87, 106, 140, 155, 181, 192, 209,
 221, 226, 238, 239
 Oxford Historical Society, 59, 61

 PALGRAVE, *Commonwealth*, 97, 127
 Palgrave, *Rotuli Curie Regis*, 135
 Palmer, Dr., 211
 Paris, 64, 87
 Paris, Matthew, 31, 32, 41, 148, 183,
 184
 Parker, Archbishop Matthew, 208
 Parliament, Houses of, 78, 79
Parliamentum Judaicum, 5, 83, 101,
 149, 150, 154, 176, 186
 Parnas, 20
Patent Rolls, *passim*
 Pecche, Gilbert, 175, 184, 202
 Pembroke, Aymer of Valence, Earl
 of, 198, 199, 201
 Pembroke, William, Earl of (Earl
 Marshall), 27
 Pepys' *Diary*, 78
 Peterborough, 211
 Peterborough, William, Abbot of, 96
 Picciotto, 230
 Picot, Hugolina, 107, 108
Pipe Rolls, *passim*
 Planaz, Ralph de, 174
Plea Rolls, *passim*
 Pliny, *Natural History*, 78
 Pole, Cardinal, 208
 Pontefract, 86
 Porthors, John, 119, 165, 166, 202
 Pragi, Isaac, 214, 215
 Presbyter, 21, 22
 Prestre, le, 21
 Prior, N., 75
 Prynn, *Short Demurrer*, *passim*
 Purchas, *Pilgrimage*, &c., 38
 Pycheford, Geoffrey de, 193, 202
 Pyx, Chapel of the, 18, 78, 80

 QUADDON, Henry de, 163
 Quarel, Ivo, 146, 148, 170
 Quit-claim, 159, 160
 Quy, 158

 RABBIS, &c., 55
 Raguenet, *Histoire*, 219
 Ramsey, 116
 Record Office, 50, 52, 99
Revue des Études Juives, 5, 168
 Richard I., 24, 26, 44, 48, 60, 98, 99,
 130, 132, 248, 281
 Richard of Cornwall, 101
 Rigg, Mr. J. H., *passim*
 Rishanger, *Chronicon*, 161
 Rising, 87
 Roberts, *Fine Rolls*, 96, 97, 113, 170
 Robertson, J. C., 20, 48
 Robinson, Dean J. Armitage, 198
 Robinson, Robert, 227
 Rochelle, 64
Rolls, *Charter*, 24-26, 29, 32, 33
Rolls, *Close*, *passim*
Rolls, *Exchequer*, of the *Jews*, 21, 130
Rolls, *Fine*. See *Fine Rolls*
Rolls, *Hundred*, 106, 111, 113, 116,
 117
Rolls, *Liberate*, 136
Rolls, *Oblate*, 136
Rolls, *Patent*, *passim*
Rolls, *Pipe*, *passim*
Rolls, *Plea*, *passim*
 Rothschild, Mr. Leopold de, 237
 Rouen, 25, 27, 122
 Royston, 165, 166

Royston, Prior of, 153, 154, 163, 166, 202
 Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, 105
 Ruffus, Maurice, &c., 142-144, 146, 156, 157-159, 160, 169, 202
 Russia, 64
 Rymer, *Fœdera*, 11, 25, 35, 48, 244, 247
 Rye, 64, 180
 Rye, Mr. Walter, 126, 155, 171

ST. ALBANS, 138
 St. Edmund's Family, 202
 St. Edmund's, Hugh, Abbot of, 96
 Salfeld, *Martyrologium*, 71
 Salisbury, Bishop of, 39
 Samuel, Peter, 213
 Sancto Edmundo, W. de, 88
 Sawston, 158, 167, 169, 170
 Scaccario, Roger de, 175, 187
 Scalariis, John de, 157
 Scaliger, Joseph, 210
 Schechter, Dr., 239
 Schiller-Szinessy, Dr., 239
 Scialetti, Moses, 220, 222
 Scots, King of, 106
 Scott, Dr., 198
 Scott, Rev. Thomas, 231
 Scott, Sir Walter, 75, 76, 96
 Seals, Jewish, 8, 64
 Seatonian Prize, 228
 Selden, 23, 34, 38, 39, 210, 214, 215
 Senlis, 157, 169
 Shakespeare, 75
 Shelfangre, Walter de, Sheriff, 166
 Shelford, 135, 136, 151, 152, 158, 174, 202
 Sherwind, Reginald, 159, 161, 162
Shetaroth, *passim*
 Shirley, *Royal Letters of Henry III.*, 45
 Silva (A. Grove), 227
 Simcon, Rev. C., 230
 Smith, Dr. Robert, 226
 Smith, Prof. W. Robertson, 238
 Solanus, Moses, 224
 Southwark, 64, 170
 Spain, 52, 64
 Spencer, Dr., 221
 Spinola, Benedict, 211
 Stamford, 59, 86
 Stanton, Philip de, 154, 155, 158
 Starrs, 159, 160
 Statute of Judaism, 101
 Stephen, King, 98, 111, 124
 Stewart, *Liber Eliensis*, 105
 Stokes, Dr. H. P., *Outside the Trum-*
ington Gates, 142, 143, 156, 159,
 198

Stokes, Matthew, *Book*, 135
 Stone, Sir Benjamin, 80, 82
 Stone houses, 117-119, 166, 201
 Stourbridge, Leper Hospital, 135, 140, 141, 202
 Strangelynn, Michael, &c., 176-178
 Strype, John, 208
 Stubbs, Bishop William, 77, 96, 188
 Sudbury, 163, 175
 Suffolk, 25, 127, 145, 175
 Sulaman, 227
 Surnames, Jewish, 63
 Swavesay, 158
 Sylvester, Prof. J. J., 236, 237
 Synagogues, 114, 120, 144, 233-235

TALLAGES, 81, 85, 88, 91, 100, 101
 Tallesland, Richard de, 175
 Tallies, 73, &c.
 Taylor, Dr. C., 236, 239
 Tenzel, Dr., 223
 Teversham, 156
 Tewkesbury, 90
 Theobald, 137, 138, 141
 Thelford, 105
 Thomas of Monmouth, 126
 Thomason, George, 214
Times, *The*, 79
 Toli, Stephen, 190, 194, 197
 Tovey, *Anglia Judaica*, *passim*
 Tower of London, 9, 11, 181
 Toylet, William, &c., 175
 Tremellius, J. E., 207, 208
 Trumblevill, Henry de, 91
 Trumpington, 107
 Tuckney, Dr., 219
 Tuddenham, Thomas de, 143, 201
 Turri, Simon de, 140, 141, 202
 Turroc, Manor of, 26,
 Tyrwhitt, Rev. R., 230

UFFENBACH, Z. C. von, 219, 223
 Usher, Archbishop, 209

VENABLES, E., 11
 Venn, Dr., 225
 Vere, Alberic de, 106
 Vienne, Hugh de, 175

WALDEN, Abbot of, 145, 180, 202
 Wallingford, 11, 67, 86
 Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, 199
 Wandering Jew, the, 223
 Warwick, 63, 71, 87, 139, 153
 Wesenham, Thomas de, 16, 166, 201
 Westminster, 50, 63, 70, 89, 91, 162, 193, 195

- Whaddon, Henry de, 163
Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 124
Whichcote, Dr., 219
Whittlesford, 158
Wibarne, Joseph, 211
Wilbraham, 158
William I., 95, 98, 100, 107, 122, 134, 135
William II., 98, 100
William of Norwich, 100, 125
Williams, Archbishop, 212
Willis and Clark, *Architectural History*, 120
Wilton, 86, 92, 133, 156, 158, 174
Wiltshire, 87, 106
Windsor, 35, 88, 156, 193
Winchester, 86, 133, 147, 180, 193
Winton, Henry de, 179
Wolf, Mr. Lucien, 8, 65, 281
Woodham, Dr., 281
Woodstock, 190
Worcester, 5, 31, 84, 87, 88, 92, 101, 149, 154, 186, 188, 190
Worthingham, Dr., 221
Wrangham, Archdeacon, 228
Wykeham, Richard of, 179
YARMOUTH, 64
York, *passim*
York, Chesney, Archbishop of, 96
ZANGWILL, Mr. I., 125
Zunz, 57, 68

INDEX II.—NAMES OF MEDIÆVAL JEWS

- AARON, 49
 Aaron, 34
 Aaron, 251
 Aaron, son of Abraham, 15, 16, 32, 44, 46, 86, 145, 250, 270, 271
 Aaron, father of Benedict, 128, 129, 278
 Aaron, son of Benjamin, 10
 Aaron Blund, 86, 145, 157, 250, 272, 276, 277
 Aaron Bonamy, 86
 Aaron of Cambridge, 140
 Aaron of Colchester, 87, 145, 274
 Aaron Crespin, 174, 175
 Aaron Henne, 87
 Aaron of Hibernia, 65
 Aaron, son of Isaac, 140, 145, 158, 251, 255, 258, 259, 264, 277
 Aaron, son of Isaac Blund, 86, 150, 154, 158, 277
 Aaron, son of Joceus, 86
 Aaron, father of Josce, 158, 277
 Aaron, uncle of Joseus, &c., 86
 Aaron, Joseph, 44
 Aaron Le Riche, 65
 Aaron of Lincoln, 70, 129, 130
 Aaron, Master (1), 53
 Aaron, Master (2), 7
 Aaron, father of Men', 251
 Aaron, son of Moses, 145
 Aaron, gener. Pictavin, 86
 Aaron of Rye, 64, 180
 Aaron, father of Salomon, 182
 Aaron, son of Vives, 4, 9, 164, 166, 175, 178, 179, 182-85, 191, 196, 280
 AARON OF YORK, 24, 29, 30, 40, 46, 63, 100, 145, 152, 157, 164, 168, 244, 245, 250, 251, 261, 268, 269
 Abba of Canterbury, 64
 Abigaye, widow, 158, 265, 266, 276
 Abraham, father of Aaron, 15, 16, 32, 44, 46, 86, 145, 250, 270, 271
 Abraham, father of Abraham, 87
 Abraham, son of Abraham, 87
 Abraham, son of Antera, 171, 172, 176-8, 186, 187
 Abraham Battecocke, 87
 Abraham, son of Benedict, 86, 158, 277, 278
 Abraham, son of Benjamin, 136
 Abraham of Berkhamsted, 63
 Abraham of Cambridge, 135
 Abraham Chaplain, 22
 Abraham, father of Chera, 145, 158, 274, 276
 Abraham of Colchester, 86
 Abraham Crespin, 173, 182
 Abraham, son of Deulecresse, 173
 Abraham Gabbai, 60
 Abraham Gabbay, 60
 Abraham, father of Elias, 87
 Abraham, son of Isaac, 115, 170, 186, 278
 Abraham, son of Isaac, 132, 249
 Abraham, son of Isaac Gabbay, 60
 Abraham, nephew of Jacob the Presbyter, 139
 Abraham, father of Joce, 87
 Abraham, son of Josce, 178, 179
 Abraham, father of Josceus, 145, 266, 272, 276, 277
 Abraham, nephew of Josceus the Arch-presbyter, 28
 Abraham, son of Judah, 87
 Abraham le Chat, 65
 Abraham, son of Leo, 86
 Abraham Levi, 132, 249
 Abraham, father of Manser, 169
 Abraham, son of Manser, 174
 Abraham, son of Master Elias, 7
 Abraham, father of Maunsell, 158, 278
 Abraham, son of Milo, 158, 277
 Abraham, son of Moses, 13, 273
 Abraham, son of Muriel, 13, 250
 Abraham Mutun, 6, 52, 167-69, 186, 187
 Abraham of Norwich, 173
 Abraham, son of Rabbi, 55
 Abraham Pernas, 59, 60
 Abraham, son of Samuel, 160, 170
 Abraham, son of Vives, 31, 156, 173
 Alexander ha-Cohen, R., 19

Amistera Mutun, 168
 Angevin, Jacob the, 64
 Anna, wife of Josce of York, 29
 Anselm von Durem, 19
 Antera, 4, 5, 9
 Antera, mother of Abraham, 171,
 172, 176-8, 186, 187
 Aubemarle, Solomon of, 174
 Auncer, son of Josce, 158, 277
 Aungevin of Warwick, 87
 Avigai, d. of Deulesaut, 145

BAGGARD, Elias, 66
 Baruch ha-Cohen, 19
 Baruch ha - Cohen or Seligman
 Rufus, 19
 Bateman, Benedict. *See* Hagin,
 son of Isaac, 70
 Bateman, son of Cresse, 4, 66
 Bath, Isaac of, 87
 Battecocke, Abraham, 87
 Bedford, 86
 Belaset of Wallingford. *See* Belle
 Assez
 Belecot, widow of Samuel Gabay,
 181, 182
 Belia de Winton, 251
 Belie [?] of Gloucester, 87
 Belle Assez, daughter of Master
 Benedict of Lincoln, 10, 11, 69
 Belle Assez, daughter of Eliezer, 69
 Bencio, son of Saulot, 191
 Benedict, 49
 Benedict, 60
 Benedict, son of Aaron, 128, 129,
 278
 Benedict, father of Abraham, 86,
 158, 277, 278
 Benedict Bateman. *See* Hagin, son
 of Isaac, 70
 Benedict of Canterbury, 87
 Benedict, son of Cok, 34, 35
 Benedict de la Cornere, 64
 Benedict Crespín, 59, 145
 Benedict, son of Deodatus, 124
 Benedict of Evesham, 87
 Benedict Gabbay, 60
 Benedict, son of Hagin, 4
 Benedict, father of Isaac, 87
 Benedict, son of Isaac, 128, 129,
 132, 249
 Benedict, son of Jacob [le Eveske], 4
 Benedict, son of Jacob, 129
 Benedict, father of Joce, 192
 Benedict, son of Judah. *See* Isaac.
 Benedict le Eveske (or Episcopus),
 7, 14-17, 31
 Benedict le Eveske of Hereford, 22

Benedict le Eveske, son of Jacob le
 Eveske, 8, 12
 Benedict of Lincoln, son of Master
 Moses, 4, 10, 11, 34, 47, 53, 56,
 63, 69, 71, 137
 Benedict le Riche, 65, 69
 Benedict, father of Manser, 86,
 146, 266-276, 277
 Benedict, son of Master Elias, 7
 Benedict, son of Meyer, 169
 Benedict of Newport, 170, 174, 182
 Benedict of Oxford, 25
 Benedict Pernaz, 59, 60
 Benedict of Remenel, 132, 248
 Benedict, son of Samuel, 145, 275
 Benedict, son of Solomon of Cam-
 bridge, 133, 173
 Benedict de Talemunt, 44, 64
 Benedict of Winchester, 17, 46, 63
 Benedictus nepos Aaron, 86
 Benedictus Crespín, 86, 89, 90, 250,
 267
 Benedictus of Pinkeneye, 87
 Benedictus, son of Vinam [?], 87
 Benjamin of Cambridge, Master,
 53, 132, 136, 149, 195
 Benjamin of Cambridge, 113, 144,
 248
 Benjamin of Canterbury, 136
 Benjamin of Colchester, 65
 Benjamin, son of Jacob, 145, 274
 Benjamin, son of Joce Jechiel, 10
 Benjamin, son of Joce Yehiel, 69
 Benjamin of Lincoln, father of
 Manasser, 146, 274
 Berachyah of Nichole. *See* Bene-
 dict of Lincoln.
 Berkhamsted, Abraham of, 63
 Bigelin, Isaac, 66, 140, 148, 170, 250,
 251
 Bigelin, Solomon, 171, 172
 Blund, Aaron, 86, 145, 157, 250, 272,
 276
 Blund, Elias, 89, 90, 148
 Blund, Isaac, 86, 127, 140, 145, 150,
 154, 250, 262, 264, 277
 Blund, Leo, 86
 Blunde, Flora La, 17
 Bobelard, Moses, 66
 Bolum, 164
 Bonami, Lenglois, 64
 Bonami. *See* Benjamin, son of
 Josce.
 Bonamy, 251
 Bonamy, Master Aaron, 86
 Bonamy of Cambridge, 140
 Bonamy of Canterbury, 250
 Bonamy, son of Copin, 87

- Bonamy, father of Manser, 158, 276
 Bonamy Mutun, 168
 Bonamy of Oxford, 250
 Bonamy of York, 173
 Bonefy. *See* Yekuthiel, 69
 Bonefei of Bristol, 87
 Bonefei, son of Copin, 87
 Bonenfant, father of Bonevie, 142, 176, 180, 194
 Bonenfant, Isaac, 86
 Bonenfant, son of Judah, 87
 Bonenfant of Gloucester, 250
 Bonenfant, Father of Seleme, 196, 280
 Bonenfaund', father of Elias, &c., 87
 Bonenfaund, son of Elias, 87
 Bonevie, son of Bonenfant, 176, 180
 Bonevie of Cambridge, 130, 132, 248, 249
 Bonevie. *See* Jacob Mutun
 Bonfant. *See* R. Pessach
 Breddesward, Manser of, 18
 Breton, 65
 Bristol, 60, 87
 Bristol, Judas of, 49
 Bristol, Moses of, 58
 Bundy, Joce, 54, 66, 192
 Bungey, 86

 CALEIS, Deudon de, 158, 278
 Cambridge, *passim*
 Cambridge, Master of, 46
 Cambridge, Master Benjamin of, 53
 Canterbury, 22, 64, 70, 86, 87, 133, 158, 164, 165, 250
 Canterbury, Bonamy of, 250
 Capellanus, Isaac, 22, 62
 Chalbard, Merinus, 66
 Chapeleyn, Deulecresse le, 22
 Chapeleyne, Sampson le, 22
 Chaplain, Abraham, 22
 Chera, daughter of Abraham, 145, 158, 274, 276
 Chera of Winchester, 63, 86
 Chichester, Deulebenie of, 49
 Clare, 64, 127, 140, 157, 175, 176, 250
 Clare, Jacob of, 250
 Clare, Moses of, 64, 163, 173
 Cochard, Isaac, 66
 Cohen, R. Alexander ha-, 19
 Cohen, Baruch ha-, 19
 Cohen, Baruch ha-, or Seligman Rufus, 19
 Cohen, R. Elasar ha-, 19
 Cohen, Isaac ha-, 19
 Cohen, Isaac ha-, or Pippinus, 19
 Cohen, Jehosayah ben Isaac ha-, 19
 Cohen, Joseph ha-, 19
 Cohen, Nathan von Berg ha-, 19
 Cohen, Samuel ben Jehoshayah ha-, 19
 Cohen, Samuel ha-, or Saulus, 19
 Cohen, Samuel, 18, 19, 80-82
 Cohen, Urschrage ha-, 19
 Cok of Cambridge, 116, 197
 Cok. *See* Koc
 Cok, son of Aaron, 34, 35, 185
 Cok, Deulesaut, 251
 COK HAGIN. *See* Cok, son of Cresse
 COK [Isaac], son of Cresse, 4, 9, 10, 15, 24, 35-37, 51, 52
 Cok, father of Laurence, 140
 Cok, father of Levi, 251
 Cok, father of Samuel, &c., 86
 Colchester, 62, 65, 86, 87, 145, 181, 274
 Colchester, Jocus of, 13, 15
 Comitissa, or La Countesse, of Cambridge, 128, 129, 131
 Copin, father of Bonamy, &c., 87
 Copin, son of Bonefei, 87
 Copin of Cambridge, 140
 Copin, Deulesaut, 251
 Copin, I., 251
 Copin, father of Josceus, 29, 153, 245
 Copinus, son of Milkane, 86
 Crespin, Aaron, 174, 175
 Crespin, Abraham, 173, 182
 Crespin, Benedict, 59, 66, 145, 250
 Crespin, Benedictus, 86, 89, 90, 267
 Crespin, Jacob, 81, 86, 145, 155, 250, 262, 267, 268
 Cresse, 251
 Cresse of Cambridge, 140
 Cresse, or Deulecresse, son [of Master Moses, 4, 9, 10, 16, 33, 246, 247
 Cresse, son of Gente, 10
 Cresse, son of Master Elias, 4, 7
 Cresse ben Jocenun. *See* Yom-tob, son of Isaac
 Cymrac, Jacob, 141
 Cypora, mother of David, 130, 131, 248
 Cypora, wife of Hakelot, 132, 248

 DAVID, son of Comitissa, 128, 131
 David, son of Cypora, 130-132, 248
 David, son of Dyeya, 278
 David, father of Josce, 139
 David le Lumbard, 64, 87
 David of Lincoln, 87
 David, father of Meir, 86

- David of Oxford, 140, 250, 251
 David, father of Samuel, 132, 136, 249
 David, brother of Vives, 130, 131
 Deodatus, father of Benedict, 124
 Deodatus [Episcopus], 19
 Deudon of Caleis, 158, 278
 Deudone, son of Isaac, 26, 28
 Deudone, son of Ursell, 86
 Deudone, son of Vives, 86
 Deulebenie of Chichester, 49
 Deulebeneye, 87
 Deulecress, father of Abraham, 173
 Deulecresse le Chapeleyn, 22
 Deulecresse. *See* Cresse, son of Master Moses
 Deulecresse, son of Dyaye, 87, 158, 274, 276
 Deulecresse, son of Elias, 86
 Deulecresse le Eveske, 87
 Deulecresse, father of Moses, 196, 280
 Deulecresse, son of Moses of Wallingford, 66, 67
 Deulecresse le Prestre, 22
 Deulecresse, Solomon, 69
 Deulegraund of Winchester, 86
 Deulesaut Cok, 251
 Deulesaut Copin, 251
 Deulesaut, son of Dyaya, 145
 Deulesaut, son of Isaac, father of Abigaye, 145, 265, 266
 Deulesaut, father of Jacob, 86, 140, 145, 150, 251, 252-264, 276, 278
 Deulesaut, father of Jocene, 196, 280
 Deulesaut, son of Koc, 86
 Deulesaut, father of Sampson, 86
 Diai [1], son of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 14
 Diai [2], son of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 14
 Diaia. *See* Eliezer, son of Solomon, 69
 Diaie, father of Mosse, 87
 Diaie of Rising, 87
 Diaie, son-in-law of Slema Episcopus, 13, 14
 Diaye, son of Samuel, 140, 251, 278
 Dorchester, 87
 Duce, daughter of Jacob, 145, 259
 Durem, Anselm von, 19
 Duzelina, widow of Mosse with the Nose, 25
 Dyaya, son of Master of Cambridge, 46, 140, 145, 149, 150, 176, 251
 Dyaye, fil. Magistri de Clou'n', 86, 158, 264, 268, 273, 274, 278
 Dyaya, father of Deulesaut, 145
 Dyaya, son of Mosse of Lincoln, 145, 273, 275
 Dyaye, father of Deulecresse, 87, 158, 274, 276
 Dyaye of Wallingford, 86
 Dyeya, father of David, 278
 Dyeya, son of Salomon, 278
 ELASAR ha-Cohen, R., 19
 Eleazar, 149
 Eleazar Senior, 65
 Eliakin Levi (or Godeschalcus), 21
 Elias, 251
 Elias, son of Master Aaron, 7
 Elias, son of Abraham, 87
 Elias Baggard, 66
 Elias. *See* Benedict le Riche, 69
 Elias, father of Bonenfaund, 87
 Elias, son of Bonenfaund, 87
 Elias Blund, 89, 90, 148
 Elias, son of Chera, 86
 Elias, father of Deulecress, 86
 Elias, father of Elias, 92
 Elias Episcopus or Cohen, 18
 Elias, son of Isaac, 87
 Elias, father of Jacob, 86
 Elias of Kant, 145
 Elias of Kent, 262, 264
 Elias le Eveske, 38
 Elias le Eveske, 26
 Elias le Eveske of Hereford, 153
 Elias, Master, son of Master Moses, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13, 15, 30, 32, 36, 52, 53, 68, 136, 137, 153, 168, 179, 180, 187
 Elias, son of Master, 53
 Elias of Norwich, Master, 53
 Elias of Pontefract, 86
 Elias. *See* Yehiel, son of Isaac, 69
 Eliezer, son of Solomon of Norwich, 69
 Elijah *Hazan*, 61, 62
 Ephraim ben Jacob, 98
 Episcopus Family, 12, &c.
 Episcopus. *See* also Le Eveske
 Episcopus, Benedict, 12-17, 31
 Episcopus, Benedict, son of Jacob le Eveske, 12, 15, 16
 Episcopus, Deodatus, 19
 Episcopus, Diai [1], son of Benedict, 12, 14
 Episcopus, Diai [2], le Eveske, son of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 16
 Episcopus, Elias, 18
 Episcopus, Flora, daughter of Benedict Episcopus, 15

- Episcopus, Isaac, son of Benedict, 12, 14, 31
- Episcopus, Isaac, or Hak, son of Elias Episcopus, 12, 13, 14
- Episcopus, Jacob [Clericus], son of Benedict, 12, 15, 16, 18, 31, 36, 44, 45
- Episcopus, Josce, son of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 16
- Episcopus, Leo, 30
- Episcopus, Margalicia, daughter of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 16
- Episcopus, Moses, 19
- Episcopus, Samuel, 19
- Episcopus, Samuel, 30
- Episcopus, Samuel, son of Isaac le Eveske, 12, 14
- Episcopus, Slemā, 12, 13, 14
- Episcopus, Solomon, 12, 13, 15-17
- Episcopus, Suskindus, 19
- Evesham, 87
- EVESKE, ELIAS LE, 5, 6, 12-17, 18, 19, 24, 30-33, 40, 41, 44, 46, 86, 101, 145, 149, 151, 153, 180, 183, 184, 245, 246, 259
- Exeter, 22, 87, 251
- FIRST names, 66
- Fisinges, Samuel de, 146, 271
- Flora, daughter of Benedict Episcopus, 15
- Flora, daughter of Jacob [le Eveske], 4, 8
- Flora la Blunde, 17
- Flora le Eveske, daughter of Jacob le Eveske, 12
- Floria, 7
- Floria or Fluria, wife of Isaac le Eveske, 14
- Floria, daughter of Samuel, 145, 275
- Fluria, widow of Bonamy of Newbury, 180
- Flurye, 31
- Freude. *See* R. Yehiel
- Furmentin, Sampson, 27, 66
- GABAY, Samuel, 181, 182
- Gabbai, Abraham, 60
- Gabbay, Abraham, 60
- Gabbay, Benedict, 60
- Gabbay, Isaac, 60
- Gabbay, R. Jacob, 60
- Gabois, Isaac, 60
- Garsie gener. Belie, 87
- Garsie of Lincoln, 46
- Gente, 4, 5, 10
- Germany, 64
- Giva of Senlis, 170
- Gloucester, 87, 250
- Gloucester, Bonenfant of, 250
- Godeschalcus, or Eliakin Levi, 21
- Gurnon, 136
- HAGGIN [or Meir], Levi, 21
- Hagin Family, 3, 4, 40
- Hagin, son of Master Benedict, 11
- HAGIN, SON OF CRESSE or Deulecres, 4, 9, 10, 15, 24, 35-37, 51, 52, 247
- Hagin, son of Isaac, 70
- Hagin of Lincoln, 63
- HAGIN, SON OF MASTER MOSES, 4, 7, 9, 10, 16, 24, 33-35, 46, 64, 179, 180, 245-246
- Hak, le Chantur, 62
- Hak le Eveske. *See* Isaac le Eveske
- Hake, Isaac gener. Hake, 87
- Hake, Mosse, 87
- Hake of Worcester, 87
- Hakelot, 132, 248
- Hakes of Cambridge, 138
- Ham, father of Ursell, &c., 87, 88
- Hamton, 132, 248
- Hanassiah. *See* Comitissa
- Helyas, 61
- Henna, 251
- Henna, wife of Aaron of York, 30
- Henna, daughter of Elias le Eveske, 12, 26, 27, 28
- Henna, daughter of Master Elias, 4, 8, 9
- Henne, Aaron, 87
- Hereford, 22, 87, 153
- Hertford, 146, 274
- Hibernia, Aaron of, 65
- Huntingdon, 146, 196, 277, 280
- Hyam, son of Sampson the Levite, 70
- ISAAC, 4
- Isaac, 4
- Isaac, father of Aaron, 140, 158, 251, 255, 258, 259, 264, 277
- Isaac, father of Abraham, 132, 249
- Isaac, father of Abraham, 115, 170, 186, 277
- Isaac, son of Abraham, 71, 170
- Isaac of Bath, 87
- Isaac, father of Benedict, 128, 129, 132, 249
- Isaac, son of Benedict, 87
- Isaac Bigelin, 140, 148, 170, 250, 251
- Isaac Blund, 86, 127, 140, 145, 150, 154, 250, 262, 264

- Isaac Bonenfant, 86
 Isaac Capellanus, 22, 62
 Isaac Cochard, 66
 Isaac ha-Cohen, 19
 Isaac ha-Cohen, 19
 Isaac ha-Cohen or Pippinus, 19
 Isaac, son of Comitissa, 129
 Isaac, father of Deulesant, 145, 265, 266
 Isaac, father of Elias, 87
 Isaac, son of Elias of Lincoln, 90
 Isaac, son of R. Elijah, 61, 62
 Isaac Episcopus, son of Benedict Episcopus, 12
 Isaac Gabbay, 60
 Isaac Gabois, 60
 Isaac, father of Hagin, 70
 Isaac Hake, 87
 Isaac Hanassiah, 129
 Isaac of Huntingdon, father of Moses, 277
 Isaac, father of Jacob, 277
 Isaac, son of Jacob, 87
 Isaac, son of Jacob Crespin, 81
 Isaac, father-in-law of Josce, 132, 249
 Isaac, father of Josceus, 145, 259
 Isaac, father of Josceus le Prestre [the arch-presbyter], 26-28, 46, 145, 149, 155, 268
 Isaac, R., son of R. Joseph, 26, 56
 Isaac, son of Josse, 87
 Isaac, son of Judah [or Ursell], 70
 Isaac Juvenis, 65
 Isaac, son of Le Crespin, 81
 Isaac le Eveske, 190
 Isaac, father of Leo, 158, 278
 Isaac Levi (or Levita), 21
 Isaac, son of Levi, 132, 248
 Isaac of Marlborough, 87
 Isaac, son of Master Elias, 7
 Isaac *Medicus*, 53, 65, 137
 Isaac, father of Moses, 146, 151, 274-5
 Isaac, son of Moses of Cambridge, 133, 139, 145, 147, 156, 169, 259, 270
 Isaac, son of Moses of Paris, 87
 Isaac of Norwich, 20, 70
 Isaac of Norwich, 63, 152, 153
 Isaac of Oxford, Master, 53
 Isaac Pernas, 60
 Isaac the Physician, 65
 Isaac Pickard, 66
 Isaac Pikechen, 86
 Isaac, son of Rabbi, 55, 129
 Isaac of Russia, 64
 Isaac, father of Sampson, 196, 280
 Isaac, father of Samuel, 86, 151
 Isaac, son of Samuel, 86, 145, 150, 158, 186, 252-262, 267, 276, 278, 279
 Isaac, gener. Sanne, 87
 Isaac Senlis, 157
 Isaac, Senex, 65, 132, 249
 Isaac of Southwark, 45, 64, 170
 Isaac Ursell, 69
 Isaac. *See* Ursell le Eveske
 Isaac of Warwick, 64, 71, 87, 153
 Isaac of Worcester, father of Sampson, 190
 Isaac of Yarmouth, 64
 Isaac, father of Yomtob, 70
 Isaac of York, 63, 168
 Isabella of Cambridge, 148
 Israel of Cambridge, 114
 Ivelcester, 86, 87
 JACOB the Angevin, 64
 Jacob, father of Benedict, 129
 Jacob, father of Benjamin, 145, 274
 Jacob of Clare, 127, 140, 250
 Jacob [Clericus], son of Benedict, 12, 15, 16, 18, 31, 36, 44, 45, 65
 Jacob Crespin, 81, 86, 145, 155, 250, 262, 267, 268
 Jacob Cymrac, 141
 Jacob, son of Deulesant, 86, 140, 145, 150, 251-264, 276
 Jacob, father of Duce, 145, 259
 Jacob, son of Elias, 86
 Jacob, father of Ephraim, 98
 Jacob of Exeter, 87, 251
 Jacob, son of Flurye, 31
 Jacob Gabbay, R., 60
 Jacob, father of Isaac, 87
 Jacob, son of Isaac, 276
 Jacob, father of Jacob, 87, 88
 Jacob, son of Jacob, 87, 88
 Jacob, father-in-law of Josceus, 251
 Jacob, son of Judah, 61
 Jacob, father of Jurninus, 87
 Jacob le Eveske, 4, 7
 Jacob le Eveske, 251
 Jacob Levi, 132, 249
 Jacob le Mester, 87, 88
 Jacob le Viel, 65
 Jacob of London, R., 25
 Jacob, son of Manasses, 132, 145, 158, 249, 266
 Jacob ben Moses, 70
 Jacob, son of Master Moses, 7, 8, 47, 56, 58, 63, 251
 Jacob of Newmarket, 173, 182
 Jacob of Oxford, 15
 Jacob, gener. Pictavin, 86

- Jacob, son of Pictavus, 193
 Jacob the Priest. *See* Jacob the Arch-Presbyter
 Jacob, father of Saer, 163
 Jacob, father of Samuel, 132, 249
 Jacob, son of Samuel Mutun, 68, 69
 Jacob, son of Vives, 87
 JACOBUS JUDEUS LONDONIE, 24, 25, 139, 243, 244
 Jarum, 80, 81
 Jehosayah ben Isaac ha-Cohen, 19
 Jehoshua, Levi, 21
 Joce, son of Abraham, 87, 158
 Joce, son of Benedict of Lincoln, 71
 Joce, son of Benedict, 192
 Joce Bundy, 54, 192
 Joce of Germany, 64
 Joce Jechiel, 69
 Joce of Nottingham. *See* Joce, son of Benedict of Lincoln
 Joce, father of Salomon, 86
 Jocusus. *See* Yomtob, son of Isaac, 70
 Jocus, 118
 Jocus, father of Aaron, 86
 Jocus of Bungey, 86
 Jocus of Colchester, 13, 15
 Jocus, son of Deulesaut, 196, 280
 Joel ha-levi, ha-saken, or Adolf, 21
 John le Clerk, 65
 Jomtob of Evreux, 4
 Jomtob of Joigny, 4, 64
 Josc', 251
 Josce, son of Aaron, 158, 277
 Josce, father of Abraham, 178, 179
 Josce, father of Auncer, 158, 277
 Josce of Cambridge, 140
 Josce, son of David, 139
 Josce, son of Isaac. *See* Josceus, Arch-presbyter
 Josce, son-in-law of Isaac, 132, 249
 Josce, son-in-law of Josceus the Arch-presbyter, 26, 28
 Josce le Eveske, son of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 16
 Josce, son of Manasses, 132, 145, 158, 249, 266
 Josce, son of Manser, 276
 Josce, fl. *Medici*, 53, 137
 Josce the Moor, 64
 Josce, father of Salomon, 158, 278
 Josce Salvage, 49
 Josce of Wilton, 86, 145, 150, 157, 158, 270
 Josce, father of Vives, 130
 Josce Yehiel, 69
 Josce of York, 29, 63
 Josceus, son of Abraham, 145, 266, 272, 276, 277
 Josceus, son of Copin, 29, 153, 245
 Josceus, son of Isaac, 145, 259
 Josceus, gen. Jacobi, 251
 JOSCEUS JUDEUS DE LONDONIIS, 24, 25-28, 29, 46, 145, 146, 149, 155, 244, 267, 268, 274
 Josceus of Kant, 146, 158, 250, 275
 Josceus, son of Moses, 145, 271
 Josceus of Newport, 146, 158, 275
 Josceus Pigge, 65
 Josceus, son of Salomon of Wilton, 146, 275, 277, 278
 Josceus, son of Saulet, 115, 191, 196, 197, 280
 Josceus, son of Samuelotus, 190
 Joseph, Aaron, 44
 Joseph Bechor Shor. *See* Joseph of Orleans
 Joseph ha-Cohen, 19
 "Joseph the Jew," 198, 199, 201
 Joseph Levi, 21
 Joseph of Orleans, R., 56
 Joseph, R., 56
 Joseph, R. [Rubigotsce], 26, 27, 55
 Joseph the Peitevin, 64
 Joseph the Pious, 65
 Joseus, nepos Aaron, 86
 Joseus of Kent, 86, 158
 Josse, father of Saloman, &c., 87, 92
 Jovin Lenglois, 64
 Juda, daughter of Margalicia Episcopus, 16
 Judah, father of Abraham, 87
 Judah, father of Bonenfant, 87
 Judah, Isaac, 70
 Judah the Frenchman, 64, 86
 Judah *Hazan*, 61
 Judas of Bristol, 49
 Judas of Cambridge, 131, 132, 135, 248
 Judith, daughter of Belle Assez, 10, 69
 Jurnet. *See* R. Jacob ben Moses
 Jurninus, son of Jacob, 87
 KANT, Elias de, 145
 Kent, 25, 262, 264, 275
 Kent, Elias of, 262, 264
 Kent, Josceus of, 146, 158, 250, 275
 Koc, 116, 197
 Koc. *See* Cok
 LAURENCE, son of Cok, 140
 Le Blund. *See* Blund
 Le Blund, Isaac, 145

- Le Chanteur, Muriel, 26, 28, 62
 Le Chanteur, Vives, 26, 28, 62
 Le Chantur, Hak, 62
 Le Chapeleyn, Vives, 192
 Le Chapeleyn, Manser, 196, 280
 Le Chapeleyn, Sampson, 22
 Le Chat, Abraham, 65
 Le Crespin, 80, 81
 Le Enveyse, 65
 Le Eveske. *See* Episcopus
 Le Eveske, Benedict, 22
 Le Eveske, Benedict, son of Jacob
 le Eveske, 8
 Le Eveske, Deulecress, 87
 Le Eveske, Dial [2], son of Benedict
 Episcopus, 12, 14, 16
 LE EVESKE, ELIAS, 4, 5, 6, &c., 18,
 19, 24
 Le Eveske, Elias, of Hereford, 153
 Le Eveske, Flora, 8
 Le Eveske, Hagin, 4
 Le Eveske, Henna, daughter of
 Elias le Eveske, 12
 Le Eveske, Isaac, 190
 Le Eveske, Jacob, 251
 Le Eveske, Jacob, 4, 18
 Le Eveske, Leo, 86, 146, 272, 279
 Le Eveske, Manasser, 87, 88
 Le Eveske, Mile, 87
 Le Eveske, Muriel, 19
 Le Eveske, Samuel, 18, 80, 81, 82
 Le Eveske, Solomon, 17, 18, 148
 Le Eveske, Ursell, 70
 Le Fraunceys, father of Samuel, 87
 Le Mester, Jacob, 87, 88
 Le Prestre, Josceus. *See* Josceus,
 Arch-presbyter
 Le Riche, Aaron, 65
 Le Riche, Benedict, 65, 69
 Lenglishe, Rose, 64
 Lenglois, Bonami, 64
 Lenglois, Jovin, 64
 Lenglois, Mosse, 64
 Leo, father of Abraham, 86
 Leo Aurifaber, 65
 Leo Blund, 86
 Leo, son of Cresse, 4, 7
 Leo, son of Ham, 87, 88
 Leo, son of Isaac, 158, 278
 Leo le Eveske, 86, 146, &c.
 Leo of Lincoln, 250
 Leo of London, 49
 Leo of Milk Street, 64
 Leo of Newport, 278
 Leo, son of Salomon, 86
 Leo of Senlis, 170
 Leo of York, 250
 Leun, son of Deulebeneye, 87
 Levi, Abraham, 132, 249
 Levi, son of Cok, 251
 Levi, Eliakin (or Godeschalcus), 21
 Levi, father of Isaac, 132, 248
 Levi, Isaac (or Levita), 21
 Levi, Jacob, 132, 249
 Levi, Jehoshua, 21
 Levi, Joel ha-, or Adolf, 21
 Levi, Joseph, 21
 Levi, Meir (or Haggin), 21
 Levi, Moses, 21
 Levi, son of Salomon, 86, 146, 150,
 272, 277
 Levi, Sampson, of Norwich, 20, 21
 Levi, Sampson, of Lincoln, 81
 Levi, Sampson, of Nottingham, 87
 Levi, Ursell, 81
 Lincoln, 59, 60, 62, 63, 69, 70, 81,
 86, 90, 129, 133, 145, 146, 158,
 250, 274, 275
 Lincoln, Benedict of, 4-11, 47, 53,
 56, 63, 69
 Lincoln, Garsie, 46
 Lincoln, Leo of, 250
 Lincoln, Master Sampson of, 53
 London, 64, 69, 86, 91, 92, 133
 Loun, Master Samuel of, 53
 Lova, 116
 Lumbard of Bristol, 87
 Lumbard, David le, 64, 87
 Lumbard, Senex, 86
 MANASSER the Clerk, 45
 Manasser of Jarum, 80, 81
 Manasser, father of Josceus, 145, 266
 Manasser le Enveyse, 65
 Manasser le Eveske, 87, 88
 Manasser, son of Ursell, 86
 Manasses, son of Benjamin, 136, 274
 Manasses, father of Jacob, 132, 158,
 248
 Manasses, father of Josce, 132, 158,
 248
 Mancroft, 87
 Manser, father of Abraham, 174
 Manser, son of Abraham, 169
 Manser, son of Benedict, 86, 146,
 266-276, 277
 Manser, son of Benjamin, 146
 Manser, son of Bonamy, 158, 276
 Manser of Breddesward, 18
 Manser of Huntingdon, 151
 Manser, father of Josce, 276
 Manser le Chapeleyn, 196, 280
 Manser, son of Ursell, 146, 274
 Margalicia, daughter of Benedict
 Episcopus, 12, 16
 Margaret, daughter of Jurnet, 70

- Marlborough, 87
 Maunsell, son of Abraham, 158, 278
 Meir, son of David, 86
 Meir. *See* Hyam, son of Sampson the Levite
 Meir (or Haggin), Levi, 21
 Meir of Norwich [?], son of Master Elias, 4
 Menahem the Scribe, 65
 Men', son of Aaron, 251
 Merinus Chalbard, 66
 Meyer, father of Benedict, 169
 Mile le Eveske, 87
 Milkane of Canterbury, 86
 Milla Mutun, 167
 Milo, father of Abraham, 158, 277
 Milo of Cambridge, 147
 Milo fil. Magistri, 158, 277
 Miriam. *See* daughter of Jurnet, 70
 Miro of Cambridge, 147
 Molkin. *See* Samuel, son of Aaron of Lincoln
 "Molley, a Jew" 1 175
 Mordecai of Norwich, 69
 Moses, 251
 Moses, 13
 Moses, 15
 Moses, 47
 Moses, father of Aaron, 145
 Moses Bobelard, 66
 Moses of Bristol, 58
 Moses of Cambridge, 63, 132, 133, 139, 147, 156, 157, 169
 Moses of Clare, 64, 157, 163, 173, 175, 176
 Moses, son of Deulecresse, 196, 280
 Moses Episcopus, 19
 Moses ben Isaac Hanassiah, 129, 133
 Moses, son of Isaac of Huntingdon, 277
 Moses, son of Isaac of Senlis, 169, 170
 Moses, father of R. Jacob, 70
 Moses, son of Jacob Crespian, 155
 Moses, son of Jacob, 58
 Moses Levi, 21
 Moses, Master, 3, 11, 47, 52, 53, 63, 64, 69, 137, 153, 168, 179, 180, 187, 245-246
 Moses, son of Master Elias, 47
 Moses Parnas, 59
 Moses, father of Pectevin, 87
 Moses of Spain, 64
 Moses of Wallingford, 67
 Moses ben Yom-tob, 3, 5
 Mosse. *See* Moses
 Mosse, son of Diaie, 87
 Mosse Hake, 87
 Mosse, son of Ham, 87, 88
 Mosse, father of Isaac, 259, 270
 Mosse, son of Isaac, 146, 151, 274-5
 Mosse, father of Josceus, 145
 Mosse Lenglois, 64
 Mosse of Lincoln, father of Dyaya, 145, 158, 273, 275
 Mosse with the Nose, 25
 Mosse of Paris, 87
 Mosse, son of Sampson, 86
 Mosse, father of Samuel, 270
 Mosses, father of Samuel, 158, 278
 Motoun. *See* Mutun
 Muriel, 13
 Muriel, mother of Abraham, 250
 Muriel, daughter of Cresse, 4, 10
 Muriel le Eveske, 19
 Muriel Mutun, 165, 166
 Muriel, wife of Vives le Chanteur, 26, 28, 62
 Muton. *See* Mutun
 Mutun Family, 65, 68, 69, 164-169
 Mutun, Abraham, 7, 52, 68, 167, 168, 169, 186, 187
 Mutun, Amistara, 168
 Mutun, Bonamy, 168
 Mutun, Jacob, 68, 69
 Mutun, Milla, 167
 Mutun, Muriel, 165, 166
 Mutun, Samuel, 68, 69, 146, 165, 265
 Mutun, Saulot, 157, 163-165, 184, 191
 NATHAN ha-Cohen von Berg, 19
 Naykin [?], son of Samuel, 146, 274
 Newbury, 180
 Newbury, Bonamy of, 180
 Newmarket, Jacob of, 173, 182
 Newport, 146, 158, 170, 174, 182, 275, 278
 Newport, Leo of, 278
 Nicknames, 65, 66
 Northampton, 86, 251
 Northampton, Sadekin of, 51, 52
 Northampton, Sampson of, 46, 251
 Norwich, 69, 70, 71, 87, 124, 153, 173, 251
 Norwich, Abraham of, 173
 Norwich, Isaac of, 63, 152, 153
 Norwich, Master Elias of, 53
 Norwich, Meir of, 4
 Nottingham, 71, 87

ORLEANS, R. Joseph of, 56
 Oshaya, ben Isaac. *See* Ursell le
 Eveske, 70
 Oxford, 64, 87, 140, 192, 250, 251
 Oxford, Benedict of, 25
 Oxford, Bonamy of, 250
 Oxford, David of, 250, 251
 Oxford, Master Isaac of, 53
 Oxford, Jacob of. *See* Jacob, son of
 Master Moses

PARIS, Solomon de, 64
 Parnas, Moses, 59
 Pearce, 66
 Pecr., son of Sam. of Ivelcester, 86
 Pectevin, son of Moses, 87
 Pectevin, Joseph the, 64
 Peitevin le Fort, 65
 Parnas, Abraham, 59, 60
 Parnas, Isaac, 60
 Pernaz, Benedict, 59, 60
 Pessach, R., 71
 Peter of Cambridge, 133
 Peytevin, 151
 Pickard, Isaac, 66
 Pictavin of Stamford, 86
 Pictavus, father of Jacob, 193
 Pigge, Josceus, 65
 Pikechen, Isaac, 86
 Pinkeneye, Benedictus of, 87
 Pippinus, Isaac, or ha-Cohen, 19
 Pisghov or Episcopus, Samuel, 19
 Pontefract, 86
 Poteman, 66
 Presbyter, Josceus. *See* Josceus,
 Arch-presbyter
 Presbyter, Sampson, 22
 Prestre, Deulecresse le, 22
 Pucella, 6, 7

RAYNARD, Samuel, 65
 Regina, 66, 76
 Remenel, 132, 248
 Riche, daughter of Isaac Parnas, 60
 Rising, 87, 158, 277, 278, 279
 Rising, Samuel of, 277, 279
 Rose, 7
 Rose Lenglishe, 64
 Rufus, Seligman, or Baruch ha-
 Cohen, 19
 Russell, 66
 Russia, Isaac of, 64
 Rye, Aaron of, 64, 180

SADEKIN of Northampton, 51, 52
 Saer, son of Jacob, 163
 Salomon, son of Aaron, 182
 Salomon of Dorchester, 87

Salomon, father of Dyeya, 278
 Salomon of Ivelcester, 87
 Salomon, father of Josceus, 146,
 275, 277, 278
 Salomon, son of Joce, 86
 Salomon, son of Josce, 158, 278
 Salomon, son of Josse, 87, 92
 Salomon, father of Leo, &c., 86, 272
 Salomon, father of Levi, 86, 146,
 150, 272, 276
 Salomon of Marlborough, 87
 Salomon, father of Sampson, 277
 Salomon, father of Samuel, 146, 272,
 274
 Salomon of Wilton, 158
 Salvage, Josce, 49
 Sampson, son of Deulesaut, 86
 Sampson Furmentin, 27
 Sampson, son of Isaac, 196, 280
 Sampson, son of Isaac of Worcester,
 190
 Sampson le Chapeleyn, 22
 Sampson Levi, 20, 21
 Sampson Levi, 81
 Sampson Levi of Nottingham, 87
 Sampson the Levite, 70
 Sampson of Lincoln, Master, 53
 Sampson, father of Mosse, 86
 Sampson of Northampton, 46
 Sampson, Presbyter, 22
 Sampson, son of Salomon, 277
 Sampson, father of Sampson, 86
 Sampson, son of Sampson, 86
 Sampson, father of Sampson of
 Cambridge, 193
 Sampson, son of Sampson of Cam-
 bridge, 193
 Sampson, father of Ursell [Nor-
 wich], 251
 Sampson, father of Ursell of York,
 86
 Sam. of Ivelcester, 86
 Samuel, son of Aaron le Blund, 154
 Samuel, son of Aaron of Lincoln,
 70
 Samuel, father of Abraham, 160,
 170
 Samuel, father of Benedict, 145,
 275
 Samuel of Bolum, 164
 Samuel of Cambridge, 135
 Samuel ha-Cohen or Saulos, 19
 Samuel, son of David, 132, 136, 249
 Samuel, father of Diaye, 140, 251,
 278
 Samuel le Fisinges, 146, 271
 Samuel, father of Floria, 145, 275
 Samuel Gabay, 181, 182

- Samuel of Hertford, 146, 274
 Samuel, father of Isaac, 86, 145, 150, 158, 186, 252-262, 276, 278, 279
 Samuel, son of Isaac, 87
 Samuel, son of Isaac of Senlis, 151, 169, 170
 Samuel, son of Jacob, 132, 249
 Samuel ben Jehoshayah ha-Cohen, 19
 Samuel, son of Koc, 86
 Samuel le Eveske or Cohen, 18, 19, 80-82
 Samuel le Eveske, son of Isaac le Eveske, 12, 14
 Samuel le Eveske, son of Leo Episcopus, 30
 Samuel, son of Le Fraunceys, 87
 Samuel, Master, of Loun, 53
 Samuel Molkin. *See* Samuel, son of Aaron of Lincoln
 Samuel, son of Mosse, 146, 270, 271
 Samuel, son of Moses of Lincoln, 158, 278
 Samuel Mutun, 68, 69, 146
 Samuel Mutun of London, 265
 Samuel Mutun of Royston, 165
 Samuel, father of Naykin [?], 146, 274
 Samuel Pisghov, 19
 Samuel, Raynard, 65
 Samuel of Rising, 158, 277-279
 Samuel, son of Salomon, 146, 274
 Samuel, father of Saulotus, 164, 165
 Samuel of Warwick, 139
 Samuelotus, father of Josceus, 190, 196
 Sanne [?] of Worcester, 87
 Sanson, brother of Jacob the Priest, 25
 Sante de Gurnon, 136
 Sapphira, 4
 Sarah, wife of Isaac of Senlis, 169
 Saulos ha-Cohen or Samuel, 19
 Saulot, father of Bencio, 191
 Saulot, father of Josceus, 115, 191, 196, 197, 280
 Saulot Mutun, 157, 163-165, 184, 191
 Saulotus, son of Samuel, 164-165
 Saunte, son of Ursell, 181, 202
 Seleme, son of Bonenfaunt, 196, 280
 Seligman Rufus, or Baruch ha-Cohen, 19
 Senex, Isaac, 65, 132, 249
 Senlis, Giva of, 170
 Senlis, Isaac of, 157, 169, 170
 Senlis, Leo of, 170
 Senlis, Moses of, 169, 170
 Senlis, Samuel of, 169, 170
 Simon, son of Isaac of Norwich, 153
 Simon Ulman, 61
 Simpson, 80, 81
 Simpson, father of Ursell, 80, 81
 Slema, daughter of Benedict Episcopus, 12, 13, 14
 Slema of London, 91, 92
 Solomon of Aubemarle, 174
 Solomon Bigelin, 171, 172
 Solomon of Cambridge, 63, 133, 174
 Solomon, son of Isaac, 65
 Solomon le Eveske, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 148
 Solomon of Loun, Master, 53
 Solomon, son of Master, 53
 Solomon of Norwich, 69
 Solomon de Paris, 64
 Southwark, Isaac of, 45, 64, 170
 Spain, 64
 Stamford, 86, 251
 Suskindus Episcopus, 19
 Swetecot. *See* Belle Assez, daughter of Eliezer, 69
 TALEMUNT, Benedict de, 44, 64
 Theobald of Cambridge, 125
 ULMAN, Simon, 61
 Urschrage ha-Cohen, 19
 Ursell of Colchester, 87
 Ursell, son of Ham, 87, 88
 Ursell, Isaac, 69
 Ursell, son of Isaac, 20, 70
 Ursell, son of Isaac Bonenfant, 86
 Ursell. *See* Judah, Isaac
 Ursell le Eveske, 70
 Ursell Levi, 81
 Ursell, father of Manasser, &c., 86
 Ursell, father of Manser, 146, 274
 Ursell, son of Sampson, 86
 Ursell, son of Sampson [Norwich], 251
 Ursell, son of Sampson Levi, 81
 Ursell, father of Saunte, 181, 202
 Ursell, son of Simpson, 80, 81
 VINAM [?], father of Benedictus, 87
 Vives, 31
 Vives, father of Aaron, 4, 9, 164, 166, 175, 178, 179, 182-185, 191, 196, 280
 Vives, father of Abraham, 156, 173
 Vives, son of Master Benedict, 11
 Vives, son of Bonenfaunt, 87
 Vives of Cambridge, 127, 128

Vives, son of Copin, 87
 Vives, brother of David, 130, 131
 Vives, father of Deudone, 86
 Vives. *See* Hagin
 Vives of Hamton, 132, 248
 Vives, son of Josce, 130
 Vives, father of Jacob, 87
 Vives le Chanteur, son of Isaac, 26, 28
 Vives le Chapleyn, 192
 Vives *Scriptor*, 61, 65
 Vivus, Scribe of Helyas, 61
 Von Berg, Nathan ha-Cohen, 19

 WALLINGFORD, 67, 86
 Warwick, 64, 71, 87, 153
 Warwick, Isaac of, 64, 71, 87, 139, 153
 Wilton, 86, 133, 150, 157, 158, 270, 277, 278
 Wilton, Josce of, 86, 146, 150, 157, 270
 Wiltshire, 87

Winchester, 63, 133, 146, 251, 274
 Winchester, Benedict, 17, 46, 63, 86
 Worcester, 87, 190

 YARMOUTH, Isaac of, 64
 Yehiel, 9
 Yehiel, R., 71
 Yehiel, son of Isaac, 69
 Yehiel, Josce, 69
 Yekuthiel, son of Josce Yehiel, 69
 Yom-tob, 3, 4, 5, 29
 Yom-tob, son of Isaac, 70
 Yom-tob of Joigny, 4, 64
 Yom-tob, son of Moses of Bristol, 58
 York, 63, 70, 86, 100, 168, 279
 YORK, AARON OF, 24, 29, 30, 40, 46, 63, 100, 152, 157, 164, 168, 250, 251, 261, 268, 269
 York, Bonamy of, 173
 York, Isaac of, 63, 168
 York, Josce of, 29
 York, Leo of, 250, 272
 Ysaac. *See* Isaac

INDEX III.—HEBREW WORDS

PAGES

51	אב בית דין
71	אברהם
60	אברהם ב' יצחק
160	אברהם ב' שמואל
185	אהרן ב' חיים
70	אורניק
61	אוכשנפורט
64	אונייבין
80	אורשיל ב' שונשון
70	אורשיל מאורניק
70	אורשל
69	אושעיא ב' יצחק
69	אליהו
18	אליהו כהן
69	אליעזר
64	בונפי בן ברטון
69	בונפי בן יוסי
71	בונפנט
50, 51	בית דין
69	בלשת בת אליעזר
70	בנדיט ב' אורשיל
60	בנייט
65	ברטון
57	ברישטו

PAGES

10	ברכיה ב' משה
56	ברכיה
60	נבאי
66	נדליהו
71	גרניק
69	דיאיי
51, 61	דין
80	די ירום
69	דלקרייש
160	הוא
160	הנרי
128	ויוש
65	ורדמסי
65	זקן
51, 60, 61, 70	חבר
61	חוזה
61	חזן
9, 128, 185	חיים
11, 34	חיים דניקול
70	חיים מאיר
65	חסיד

PAGES		PAGES	
160	טומש דהוא	18, 19, 81	כהן
160	טושייניץ		
61, 70	יהודה	65	לבן
63	יהויקים	70	לוי
64	יהוסף פייטבין	65	לוילא
51, 61	יהוצדק	61	לונדריין
19	יהושעיה ב' יצחק	8, 56, 57, 137	לונדרש
160	יוהן		
70	יום טוב בן יצחק	70	מאיר
57	יום טוב ב' משה	70	מולקין
69	יוסי	51, 61	מורה צדק
64	יוסי בן בונפי	20	מנהיגים
71	יוסי דנוטיגהם	61	מנחם הסופר
56	יוסף	80	מנשיר די ירום
61	יוסף החוזה	69	מרדכי
65	יוסף הסיר	8, 10, 56	משה
62	יוסף שוחט	57	משה בן יעקב
69	יחיאל ב' יצחק		
61	יעקב ב' יהודה	56	נדיב
64	יעקב ב' יצחק	71	נוטיגהם
8, 56, 57, 137	יעקב ב' משה	10, 11, 34	ניקל
69	יעקב ב' שמואל		
60	יעקב נבאי	61, 65	סופר
69, 70	יצחק		
71	יצחק ב' אברהם	51	ער
60	יצחק ב' בנייט		
70	יצחק ב' יהודה	64	פייטבין
56	יצחק ב' יוסף	71	פסח
19	יצחק הכהן	20	פרנס
80, 81	יצחק קרישפין	64	פרש
65	יצחק רופא		
70	יצנו	64	צפרתי
80	ירום		
114	ישראל	64	סדוש

PAGES		PAGES	
70	קריצה	50	שטרות
80, 81	קרישפין	62	שלוחי מצוה
64	ראול בידא	65	שלמה ב' יצחק
51	ראש מקום	69	שלמה דלקרייש
56	רב	69, 160	שמואל
68	רופא	70	שמואל ב' אהרן
211	ש=שרה	19	שמואל ב' יהושעיה
69	שניטוט בת דיאיי	18, 19, 80, 81	שמואל כהן
62	שוחט	64	שמשון בר שמשון
80	שונשון	70	שמשון הלוי
65	שחור	281	ת

THE END



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